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Welfare in  
the British Colonies

*New York*

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

*Toronto      Bombay  
Melbourne      Cape Town  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS*

# Welfare in the British Colonies

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London  
THE ROYAL  
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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*First published 1944*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT  
THE BROADWATER PRESS, WELWYN GARDEN CITY  
HERTFORDSHIRE

## CONTENTS

<b>I. THE BACKGROUND TO SOCIAL POLICY</b>	<b>7</b>
AFRICA	7
MALAYA	14
HONG KONG	18
CEYLON	19
FIJI AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC ISLANDS	20
THE WEST INDIES	21
<b>II. EDUCATION</b>	<b>24</b>
THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION	24
ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES	25
PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY	26
RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS	30
PARTICIPATION OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES	31
EDUCATION FOR RURAL LIFE	33
THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS	37
THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION	40
ADULT EDUCATION	42
EDUCATION AT LABOUR CENTRES	44
ADVANCED EDUCATION	44
<i>Bibliography</i>	47
<b>III. LABOUR</b>	<b>47</b>
1. GENERAL QUESTIONS	47
The Organization of Labour Services; International Labour Legislation.	
2. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DIFFERENT COLONIES	53
East Africa; West Africa; Malaya; Ceylon; the West Indies; the Pacific Island Colonies.	
<i>Bibliography</i>	71
<b>IV. HEALTH</b>	<b>72</b>
1. THE ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH SERVICES	73
British Organizations; International Bodies; Health Services within the Colonies.	
2. THE CONTROL OF TRANSMISSIBLE DISEASES	79
Malaria; Yaws; Hookworm; Sleeping Sickness; Leprosy; Venereal Diseases; Yellow Fever.	
3. THE PROMOTION OF GOOD HEALTH	90
Africa; Malaya; the West Indies; Fiji and the Western Pacific Islands.	
4. NUTRITION	95
<i>Bibliography</i>	100

<b>V. SOCIAL WELFARE</b>	101
ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES	101
THE WEST INDIES	103
THE AFRICAN DEPENDENCIES	109
CEYLON	113
THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT	114
<i>Bibliography</i>	115

#### NOTE

IN a study intended merely to outline the work of the various colonial services concerned with social welfare, it is not possible to enumerate all the activities of these services in every colony; instead, examples have been given to illustrate the main lines of development in the principal colonial areas in the tropics—Africa, Malaya, Hong Kong, Ceylon, the West Indies and the Pacific Island Colonies. Limitations of space make it impossible to cover the Mediterranean Colonies, which in many ways present different problems from those of the dependencies in the tropics.

*December 1943.*

## I. THE BACKGROUND TO SOCIAL POLICY

IT is the object of this book to describe how the varied aims of modern social policy are put into practice. Fundamentally all welfare measures are directed towards raising the general level of the community; whether by improving standards of health and nutrition in the villages and towns, by education to increase the individual's capacity for adjustment to the needs of modern times and make wider opportunities open to him, or by developing a sense of community and social obligation in the new urban populations. The work done in one sphere reacts upon that in every other, so that neither problems nor measures of policy can be divided into watertight compartments; but for purposes of exposition, separate chapters will deal with education, labour, and health, the three subjects for which colonial Governments employ specialist departments, and with the various activities comprised under the heading of social welfare.

### AFRICA

Africa at the present day is a land of striking contrasts. There is no remote corner to which some European influence has not penetrated, be it no more than the ubiquitous petrol tin, and in some places, such as the coastal towns of West Africa, large numbers of Africans lead a life which at least in its externals is completely European. Between this and the opposite extreme of the village where the petrol tin seems at first sight to be the only evidence of contact with the European, the old and the new Africa are to be seen side by side in every sort of juxtaposition. In Kenya one may meet a group of Masai, led by a stark naked elder, watering their cattle at a trough filled from an artesian well by a wind pump, of whose mechanics they have not the faintest comprehension. In West Africa, a chief who has had a good secondary education, speaks excellent English, and dispenses large revenues in virtue of the authority delegated to him by the Government, may make a long journey in his powerful car to visit one of the famous "juju" shrines at which the spirits of the ancestors can be consulted through diviners. A few yards from a dispensary in charge of an African with a modern medical training there may live a "doctor" who heals by a combination of decoctions of herbs and divination to find which ancestor spirit's anger has caused the illness and how to appease him.

These contrasts are symbolic of the changes which tropical Africa is undergoing to-day. All traditional customs and beliefs are being assailed by European influences. The instruments of contact are various; they include Government officials—the District Officer who collects taxes and administers justice, and specialists such as the Agricultural, Veterinary, or Forest Officer, each of them bringing, in his own field, some proposal for the abandonment of the old ways and the adoption of new ones; missionaries, who not only spread the Gospel but also open schools and hospitals; and educated Africans working as teachers or dispensers. A growing number of Africans have been employed as labourers on mines or plantations far from their homes, and have come back bringing with them new goods and the memory of new experiences.

During the past thirty or forty years many Africans have experienced a transformation from a way of life similar to that lived by our ancestors in this country in medieval times to that of the unskilled labourer in a modern city. The speed and scope of this revolution raises profound psychological and social problems for both the individual and the community.

The native societies encountered by the white man when he first came to tropical Africa were of various types. Some, like the Emirates of Northern Nigeria, were empires extending their rule over many subject peoples. The kingdoms on the shores of Lake Victoria, of which Buganda was the largest—the population now is about a million—and many Bantu-speaking tribes in central and southern Africa, also had a centralized political organization. Other peoples, like those of the interior of the Gold Coast, were linked together by more subtle ties, of a nature less easily understood by the untrained European. In some cases no common authority was accepted beyond the bounds of a single village. Everywhere, however, there existed an integrated social system based on the acceptance of recognized mutual obligations, of which the ties of kinship were the foundation. Both the pastoral and the agricultural peoples had accumulated a considerable knowledge of their environment, which formed the basis for their traditional methods. In West Africa many specialized crafts were practised and there was much trading activity.

Bearing in mind the danger of generalizing about a vast area, equal in size to India, Burma and Continental Europe without

Russia, and containing 42 million people divided into tribes the largest of which numbers 4 million, it is possible to distinguish certain broad characteristics of traditional African societies in which they differed from those of modern Europe. The great majority of people were engaged in subsistence agriculture, which provided them with the necessities of life. There were rarely great extremes of wealth. A barter economy was the rule. The family, rather than the individual, was the economic unit. Activities needing more labour than a single family could supply, such as house-building and sometimes also work in the fields such as sowing or harvesting, were carried out in co-operation by groups of kinsfolk or neighbours. The aged and sick were cared for by their relatives.

In the more highly centralized societies where the authority of a king or paramount chief was accepted by many thousands of people, he and his subordinate chiefs had rights of tribute from their subjects. These rights could become oppressive in circumstances such as those of Northern Nigeria as Lord Lugard found them in 1900, where a governing class of recent conquerors enriched themselves through the labour of their conquered subjects. But in a great part of Africa, the wealth accumulated in this way served a number of valuable social ends. It enabled the chief to store up a reserve of food against famine; to offer hospitality to the many people who visited his court; to supply his army and maintain the officers who, by the simple process of walking to and fro across the country with messages, dispatched the business of state; and to reward merit in his subjects. The chief derived some of his prestige from the fact that he was wealthier, within the narrow limits that the circumstances of African economy allowed, and the fact that his favour was a source of material benefit was an important force in securing obedience to his authority and to the laws of the land.

Though in many African societies there was no formal education, children were trained to take their place as citizens by watching their elders at work and gradually sharing more and more in the various tasks. In many tribes a craftsman would give a feast when his son first made without help a clay pot, a spearhead or whatever it might be. Stories of tribal history, handed down by word of mouth, were told in the huts in the evening. Morality was taught by comment on actual events, reinforced with the proverbs, often apparently so obscure, of which every African tribe has its

store. An important element in education was insistence on respect for one's elders, even among the youngest children. In those tribes where the social organization was based on age-grades, and in some others, there were formal initiation schools in which children of both sexes were taught what was considered the essential knowledge to equip them for adult life. For girls this consisted mainly in preparation for marriage; for boys it often included instruction in the tribal traditions and in natural history.

A characteristic still common to nearly all African peoples is the worship of the spirits of ancestors, who are believed to be in close touch with their living descendants. In case of any disaster or sickness, an attempt is immediately made to discover which spirit is responsible, and measures are then taken to placate it. It is in the discovery of the vexed spirit that the witch-doctor plays so important a part in native village life. The reassuring belief that there is some remedy within his power is of great psychological value to the African in times of suffering and adversity; it is quite a mistake to suppose that he is perpetually haunted by fear of evil spirits.

Such a society offered no opportunities for competition in the acquisition of wealth; and there was no attraction in such competition when the total range of goods that could be acquired was strictly limited. In an environment which did not change appreciably the wisdom of the elders was a reliable guide to conduct. An outlook based on this was naturally conservative, but conservatism was no disadvantage so long as no situation arose which called for radical change. Among its advantages was the complete system of social security provided by the obligations of kinship.

This closely-knit organization of society is threatened with disintegration by the impact of western influence. The growing use of money is breaking the bonds which were created by the economic dependence of members of the group on one another. Rulers whose position gives them economic privileges may now think more of using their revenues to buy for themselves the limitless range of goods that Europe offers them than of their obligations towards the community. Subjects who have learnt new trades and professions and become richer than their chiefs are ceasing to respect them. European influence has been directed in the main towards encouraging this new individualism, and seldom towards checking its abuses. The younger generation, who

have been to school, see no reason why they should respect the wisdom of their elders any more.

The rate of change has not of course been uniform. In the more remote areas—North Eastern Rhodesia, Northern Nyasaland, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast—there are tribes which still draw no more than a bare subsistence from the soil, and go through a hunger period each year, when they have eaten one crop and the next is not yet ripe. Elsewhere there are prosperous native cultivators of cotton in Uganda, coffee in Tanganyika, cocoa on the Gold Coast, some of whom earn substantial incomes, not only by African standards, and themselves employ wage-labour. In West Africa the growth of trade has created an African merchant class; in East Africa trade is largely in the hands of Indians.

The one single factor which has done more to change the face of modern Africa than any other is the demand of European enterprise for labour. This is strongest in the East African colonies, most of which have been developed mainly by European enterprise. In West Africa agriculture is still based on peasant production, though recent mining developments have created a demand for wage-labour here too. It is rare for even a plantation to be able to find its entire labour force close at hand; and for the mines, with their much larger requirements, it is quite impossible. It must be remembered that in the few regions of Africa where the native population is dense, land has for that very reason not been alienated; so that nearly all European enterprises are in sparsely populated country. All the great mines of central and southern Africa draw their labour from sources hundreds or thousands of miles away, and frequently beyond the frontiers of the territory in which they are situated. This exodus from the native village was unwilling at first; it might never have been set in motion but for the imposition by European Governments of taxes, the cash for which could only be earned by work for wages. At the present time, despite all efforts by administrations to encourage independent native production, there are still some areas where it is impossible to obtain the amount of tax except by labour at a distance. But a much stronger incentive now is the desire for the various goods to be bought by the money earned at the mines; indeed, the African thinks nothing now of going a few hundred miles further for a better wage. The majority of these wage-earners are away from home for six months to two years; some<sup>a</sup>

stay away much longer and some never return. In some districts of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as many as half the able-bodied young men may be absent at a time.

This situation raises a double series of problems. At the industrial centres large urban populations are growing up which are none the less urban populations because their composition is constantly changing. Moreover each of these populations has a solid core, even if a small one, of Africans who have broken all ties with their tribal homes and do not intend to return.

In West Africa too, large towns are growing up. These are not at industrial centres, but at the points through which trade has always passed, and they expanded rapidly when cocoa in the Gold Coast, groundnuts in Gambia and palm oil and kernels in Nigeria were highly profitable crops. A new influx has been caused by the development of Freetown as a naval base and the building of airfields at some of the other ports. The towns of West Africa are African towns in which Africans represent all strata of society from the wealthy trader, lawyer or editor to the casual dockside labourer.

The problems which the native urban populations present are the same which had to be faced in Europe at the time of the industrial revolution. New communities have grown up in which the members are united by no ties except the accident of finding themselves neighbours. In Africa they may belong to tribes with different languages, mutually unintelligible, and a tradition of hostility to one another. Measures are needed to remedy over-crowding and insanitary conditions; to provide for sickness, destitution and old age and to deal with juvenile delinquency. Health measures become more urgent when Africans are crowded together in thousands as they never would be in the rural areas; and organized education when children are growing up who lack not only the influence of tribal tradition but even that of a stable family background.

In Africa the need of the labourer for protection extends beyond the conditions in which he actually works to those in which he makes the long journey from his home to his place of work; and special problems arise when this involves a marked change of climate or diet.

In the rural areas from which this great exodus goes, it is an actual problem of survival to check it. Lacking half of their best manpower, the villages cannot grow sufficient food; for even if

the charge commonly levelled against the African, that he leaves all the work to the women, is true to the extent that the women do most of the cultivation, it still falls to the men to do the heavy work of clearing the bush. The breakdown of family life is nearly as serious in the villages, where the young husbands and fathers are away for years at a time, as it is in the towns.

No satisfactory solution has yet been found for the problems of either town or country. Many of those interested in native welfare, both in British territories and in the Union of South Africa, where the labour demands of the Rand mines create a similar situation, urge that the only effective remedy would be to encourage the working population to remain in the towns, and to aim at the development of stable communities living permanently either in town or country. This is what the Belgians have sought to do in connection with their labour force at the Katanga copper mines. This solution would involve a vigorous development policy in both urban and rural areas. The towns would need housing schemes, a great development of medical and educational services, and provision for the unemployed. In the country the productivity of the community would have to be raised by the improvement of agriculture and the development of secondary industries, so that the villages need not export their labour. But means of doing this in certain particularly remote and infertile regions like North-Eastern Rhodesia have not yet been found.

Questions of education and health are obviously of equally great importance in both urban and rural areas, though the particular problems which have to be met may be different in different circumstances. In Europe the development of social services has always been more rapid in urban communities simply because of the presence of a large population close at hand to take advantage of them. In Africa the difficulty of extending them to the villages is increased by the immense distances and the difficulties of communications.

In the early days of British administration in Africa the work of government was almost confined to the establishment of law and order and the suppression of inter-tribal warfare. Education, and with it the inculcation of new standards of ethics, was left to the missionaries, who at first believed that the conversion of the African to Christianity was all that was necessary to make him adopt European civilization in all its aspects.

To-day it is recognized that an effective adjustment to modern conditions depends upon a simultaneous approach on all the lines along which development is desired. Educational programmes must be co-ordinated with the plans of medical and agricultural experts for raising the standard of health and production. Questions such as the improvement of nutrition must be approached at the same time from the point of view of persuading the African both to grow better food and to eat it, and the teacher in school should prepare the way for both types of persuasion.

Colonial Governments now have specialized medical, agricultural, educational and labour departments, whose function it is to apply specialized knowledge to these different problems. In addition every effort is made to enlist the active co-operation of the peoples themselves in the spread of new ideas and improved methods. The training of Africans as teachers, medical assistants and agricultural demonstrators has gone a long way in many colonies. In certain territories, notably Nigeria and Tanganyika, the system of native administration makes the traditional native authorities largely responsible for development among their own peoples. Under this system a proportion of the tax collected from the subjects of each native administration area is paid into a tribal treasury to be expended within the area. From these funds hospitals, schools, etc., are provided and staffed. They are under the management of the native authorities, subject to inspection and advice by Government officials, and the Africans can take pride in them as their own creations and their own property.

The problems of the adaptation of self-contained communities living at subsistence level to the new circumstances created by industrialization, the development of large-scale production and their inclusion in the system of world trade are broadly similar wherever they occur, but a few words will be necessary to describe the special situation of the British colonies in the Far East, the Pacific and the West Indies.

#### MALAYA

The Malay Peninsula, an area about the same size as England without Wales, is divided into eleven territories; the Straits Settlements, with their capital at Singapore, the four Federated Malay States and the five Unfederated Malay States. Singapore and the

Straits Settlements together form a Crown Colony; the other territories are Protectorates. British influence was extended over the Federated Malay States in a series of treaties concluded between 1874 and 1888, when the Sultans had proved unable to check the lawlessness of their subjects and the resultant disorders threatened to spread to the Straits Settlements. The treaties confirmed the authority of the Sultans over their own subjects in all matters touching Malay religion and custom but required them to follow the advice of British Residents in everything else. Similar agreements were made in 1909 with the five Unfederated Malay States.

The Malays were little interested in the opportunities of wage-labour which opened with the development of tin-mining and rubber growing. Their traditional occupations as fishermen and cultivators secured them a higher standard of living than was enjoyed by the majority of African peoples. Respect for their autonomy in religious and cultural matters has been absolute, and mission activity has been slight. Hence the impact of modern Europe has not had the same direct effect on the individual Malay that it has had on the individual African. Instead, at any rate in those States where tin and rubber production has been extensively developed, the whole apparatus of large-scale enterprise, with a large alien population to work it, has been laid down on his doorstep. But although there was no disruption of the Malay village community by migration, some of the problems of transition from a subsistence to a cash economy arose as a market developed for rice and fish and as some Malays undertook the cultivation of export crops.

The labour required for the developments of the past forty years was drawn from South China, India and to a much smaller extent the Netherlands East Indies. Immigration has been on so large a scale that the indigenous Malays now constitute less than half the total population, about 1½ million. In 1938 Malays were estimated at 43 per cent of the Asiatic population, Chinese 41 per cent, Indians 14 per cent, other Asiatics and Eurasians 2 per cent.

The Chinese were most numerous in the Straits Settlements, where at the 1931 census they formed 75 per cent of the population of Singapore and 60 per cent of that of the Straits Settlements as a whole. In the Federated Malay States and in Johore they were 41 per cent. In the east coast States of Kelantan and Trengganu,

where there has been little estate development, they were only 5 to 7 per cent. Here Malays formed over 90 per cent of the population. The majority of the Chinese are relatively recent immigrants, though some of those in the Straits Settlements have been there for centuries, trading and mining tin by primitive methods. The number born in Malaya is increasing, but many of these leave the country for China.

While the majority of the Chinese who have entered the country in the present century have originally come to work in the tin mines, many have gone on to take up other occupations. The retail trade of the country is almost entirely in their hands, and they also act as middlemen for the produce of the small rubber grower. They themselves have taken up land for tin mining and rubber growing; it was estimated in 1936 that 16 per cent of the rubber estates and 34 per cent of the tin concessions belonged to Chinese.

The Chinese always maintained close touch, both personal and political, with their own country, and their position as a separate community was recognized by the creation of a special office, the Protectorate of Chinese, to look after their interests. They do not, however, form a homogeneous body, since they come from different parts of China with different languages and cultures. Apart from a politically minded minority, their loyalties are to their own home rather than to China as a whole. District Committees composed of members from the same part of China administer welfare funds for the benefit of Chinese from the region in which they are interested. A number of schools are financed in this way. The illiteracy of the great majority of the adult Chinese is a serious obstacle to the development of social services.

Indians in 1931 were 22 per cent of the population of the Federated Malay States, 12 per cent in the Straits Settlements and in Kedah and 10 per cent in Johore. The majority of these are Tamils, who have originally come to Malaya to work on the large rubber estates and palm oil plantations. On an average they returned to India after three years' work, but many came back and some settled permanently. In 1931 it was estimated that over one third of the 624,000 Indians were permanently domiciled in Malaya. The Indian Government maintained an active interest in their welfare. From 1923 an Agent of this Government with the right to inspect labour conditions was stationed at Kuala Lumpur.

The Malays, who form the stable element in the population, are concentrated in the coastal areas, away from the towns, and in the relatively undeveloped regions in the north-east of the Peninsula. A certain number have small rubber plantations or tin mines; in 1922, 27 per cent of the total rubber production came from holdings of under 25 acres mostly cultivated by Malays. Where the population is denser some work on estates. Qualified Malays were admitted to the administrative service, and at the time of the Japanese invasion there were some twenty Malay District Officers. The police force is largely recruited from Malays.

The great increase during the present century in the material wealth of Malaya, largely due to the growth of large-scale rubber and mining concerns, created an abundant revenue, which the Government did not hesitate to use for social services. The establishment of good communications facilitated the development of medical and health work, and a very marked improvement in health conditions was brought about. As a recent writer has expressed it: "At the beginning of the century Malaya was as richly endowed with diseases as with natural wealth." Malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis, yaws, hookworm were all prevalent. Now Malaya is one of the healthiest parts of the tropics. Progress was also made in the sphere of education. The Government provided Malay vernacular schools and supported with grants the educational facilities provided by the Chinese Committees. Estate owners were compelled by law to provide schools for Indian workers. Legislation was passed to safeguard conditions of employment, and the Department of the Controller of Labour was set up to supervise these conditions. This is the brighter side of the picture.

On the other side, the marked fluctuations in recent years in the demand for rubber and tin have led to sudden contractions in the labour force and to great distress for small producers and their employees. It has often been remarked that the native or Chinese small scale producer can weather depressions better than the European concern because he has no overhead expenses. In Malaya, however, the large firms had built up reserves during the years of prosperity, and in that respect were better placed than the small cultivators and miners.

A heavy burden of rural indebtedness has grown up from a number of causes. The rice grower needs credit during the six months between planting and harvest, and obtains it usually from

the local shopkeeper on the security of the crop. Credit is required for what may be called capital developments, such as building houses and buying implements or draught animals, or again by cultivators of crops such as rubber or coconuts which take a long time to mature. Loans are also incurred to meet the cost of marriages and other ceremonials. The creditors are Chinese or Indians who charge the high rate of interest which is inevitable in view of the risk involved. Many Malays have become the tenants of moneylenders on land which they have mortgaged, and others are involved in debts which they cannot hope to repay.

The future of Malaya is obscure. After the wholesale destruction of capital equipment that took place while the peninsula was a theatre of war, and with the prospect of further destruction when the Japanese occupation comes to an end, it is impossible to predict how long it will be before it is restored to anything like the conditions of its most prosperous days. It may be that for a long time there will be little demand for immigrant labour, and the problems that have just been described will not arise. But it is worth putting on record what was done in a dependency which, admittedly with the advantage of buoyant revenues, in many respects led the way in welfare services of all kinds.

#### HONG KONG

Hong Kong, with the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories on the mainland of China, covers an area of about 391 square miles. The prosperity of Hong Kong depended on its position as a focal point for the trade of South China. Its population of just over a million was concentrated almost entirely in the two towns of Victoria, on Hong Kong Island, and Kowloon. Ninety-six per cent of it was Chinese, and almost all were dependent on the trade of the port, whether as merchants and bankers, small shopkeepers, clerks or coolies. Few regarded the colony as their permanent home, and its population fluctuated with fluctuations in trade, while thousands of refugees would flock in when conditions were disturbed in China. To the over-crowding that resulted from the rapid increase in its population—that of the Colony as a whole doubled between 1911 and 1931, that of Kowloon between 1921 and 1931—were added serious health problems resulting from the constant movement between the colony and the neighbouring Kwantung Province of China. In 1935 an average of 9,000 persons

entered and left the Colony each day, making extremely difficult the medical inspections necessary to check the introduction of epidemics. Another problem, constantly recurring as the population increased, was that of water supply, on which a great part of the Colony's limited revenues were expended. The educational system of Hong Kong was particularly well developed. Nearly 80 per cent of the child population was enrolled in the schools, and the attendance averaged over 90 per cent of the enrolments.

#### CEYLON

Ceylon has an area of just over 25,000 square miles and a population of about five millions, which is increasing at the rate of about 100,000 a year. Since 1931 it has had a constitution which gives it a considerable measure of self-government. Of a council of 58, 50 are elected by adult suffrage, male and female. The council is divided into seven committees, each responsible for one branch of the business of government, and the chairmen of these committees form a Board of Ministers.

Like Malaya, Ceylon has been developed largely by immigrant labour. In the low-lying areas of the south some Sinhalese have worked for wages since the days when the Portuguese first established their forts on the coast. The British, who took possession of the island in 1796, introduced coffee, which needed to be grown at higher altitudes, and found that they could not persuade the Sinhalese to leave their homes and their own crops for work on distant estates in a climate much cooler than they were used to. Here too the remedy was found, from the early part of the nineteenth century, in the immigration of Tamils from southern India. Later tea and rubber became more important; the former, which grows at lower levels than coffee, employed some Sinhalese. But Indian labour continues to be very important both in the plantations and in the docks at the great port of Colombo. At the end of 1936 there were about 800,000 Indian workers in Ceylon. On the tea estates, where there is work for women in picking the leaves, many bring their wives, and as a result a higher proportion than in Malaya are permanent residents, though they still keep up their links with India.

In the most fertile part of the island, the so-called "wet zone" in the south-west, the pressure of population on the land is severe. The density is about 500 to the square mile. Peasant

holdings are subdivided again and again so that every member of the family can have his share, and in many cases are too small to be enough for subsistence. The only alternative means of livelihood is wage-labour; but the expansion of the labour force was difficult before the war because the production of the principal crops, tea and rubber, was controlled by international restriction schemes.

#### FIJI AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC ISLANDS

In the scattered chain of island possessions in the Western Pacific, Fiji, Tonga, the Solomons and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands are the most important. Their peoples are divided into two main groups, the black-skinned Melanesians from Fiji westwards, and the lighter coloured Polynesians east and north of Fiji. The Gilbert Islands are the furthest outliers of the group of islands known as Micronesia, the inhabitants of which have points of resemblance with both Melanesians and Polynesians.

The major resources of these territories are agricultural. In many parts the soil is poor. Copra is the basic cash crop, but in Fiji, where there is a certain amount of European settlement, large-scale sugar plantations have been developed by means of the employment of Indian labour. Here, as in Malaya, the indigenous inhabitants risk coming under the economic domination of a more sophisticated immigrant group, which in this case has also a higher birth rate and a much lower death rate. In 1939 Indians permanently settled in Fiji formed 44 per cent of the total population. There were 4,287 Europeans in 1940, out of a total population of 200,000.

This region has its own problem of migrant labour. One of the incentives to the young men to seek work for wages has been in the smaller islands the direct pressure of population on the limited area of cultivable land. Where the place of work is overseas the labourer cannot simply set out on foot and make his own way as so many do in Africa. He must depend on transport specially provided. The cost of this transport is met by recruiting agents, who engage labour on a contract, usually of two years. The severe penal sanctions formerly attached to these contracts no longer operate, except in the Solomons.

The representation of local opinion is provided for in various ways. In Fiji the legislative council includes five non-official

Europeans, five Indians, and five Fijians. Native leaders meet in a Great Council of Chiefs, which confers periodically with the Governor, and in provincial and district councils. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands there are advisory native councils. Tonga is a protectorate under its own Queen and has an elected native Parliament. In the Solomons only Europeans are represented on the legislative council and no native advisory body has been created. Except in Fiji and Tonga, native authorities have, however, no such executive responsibilities as are given to the African native administrations; and the general educational level is far too low for there to be any question of the admission of natives to the administrative service. They are, however, trained as teachers, clerks, draughtsmen, etc. The Central Medical School at Suva in Fiji trains native medical practitioners from all over the area. The chief obstacles to the extension of health and education services arise from the widely-scattered nature of the islands and the difficulties of contact between them. The difficulty of increasing revenue, owing to the limited economic possibilities of this ~~area~~, has also restricted the development of social services in the ~~past~~.

#### THE WEST INDIES

In popular parlance the term "West Indies" is commonly used to cover not only the six groups of islands in the Caribbean, with Jamaica and Trinidad as the most important, to which the name strictly applies, but also British Guiana and British Honduras on the mainland. Their total population is about 2 million.

All these dependencies have in common the fact that they were colonized in the days of the slave trade. The cultivation of sugar-cane began in 1650, and, as the indigenous people did not make satisfactory labourers, West African slaves were imported in large numbers. In British Honduras, timber, chiefly mahogany, was the main export, and this too was worked by slave labour. In the two mainland territories there is still a small population of aboriginal "Indians," but in the islands these soon died out, and their present population consists mainly of the descendants of the plantation owners and their slaves. In Trinidad and in British Guiana, there is also a considerable number of East Indians, descendants of those who were imported under the indenture system after slavery was abolished in 1838. The importation of indentured labourers went on till 1917, and when it was aban-

doned many of the labourers went on working on the same estates. In Trinidad they now form 34 per cent of the population.

All these territories have Governments with an elected element, but the franchise is extremely restricted, and is nowhere exercised by more than 6 per cent of the population. The introduction of universal adult suffrage was described by the Moyne Commission in 1940 as the goal to aim at, and this is an essential element in the new constitution of Jamaica, which was announced in March 1943 and may be introduced in the course of 1944. A Bill to extend the franchise in Barbados was introduced in 1943, and the question of extension is under consideration in Trinidad.

The islands and British Guiana are still largely dependent on sugar, though other products of some importance have been bananas and pimentoes in Jamaica, cocoa in Trinidad, Tobago and Grenada, cotton in Montserrat and limes in Montserrat and Dominica. St Vincent is lucky in having practically a world monopoly of arrowroot, which is a flourishing export. The Bermudas and Bahamas in normal times have a valuable tourist traffic. Trinidad is the only island where mineral resources have been exploited up to now; it has both a pitch lake and an oilfield. Bauxite is found in British Guiana.

Apart from the arrowroot of St Vincent, all the agricultural crops of the islands have suffered severely from the general decline in prices of raw materials and, in addition, most of them have been attacked by disease. Sugar has had the assistance of a preference in the British market, but the total amount that could be produced was limited in peacetime by an international restriction scheme.

The background to policy is here entirely different from what has been described in Africa, Ceylon and Malaya. There is no native community with its traditional social system cultivating its own land. The negro population was brought to the islands to work for white masters, and though since the emancipation of the slaves some have become peasant proprietors or share croppers, the majority take wage-labour for granted, women equally with men. Wages are normally so low that to maintain a family both parents must work. Hence the unemployment caused by the depression of the nineteen-thirties has been particularly serious here. There is no question of a tribal society in the background to which the unemployed worker can return. He can only drift to the towns in the hope of finding better opportunities, thus increasing the

problems of slums and overcrowding in towns that date from centuries before town-planning was dreamt of, and when this fails, turn to relief agencies such as operate in Europe. As in our own depressed areas there are hundreds of youths and girls who have never had any work and have grown up without the hope of any. In a community in which there is no stability of family life—between 65 per cent and 75 per cent of births are illegitimate—there inevitably results a serious problem of juvenile delinquency. Another difficulty is the prevalent contempt for manual work; every boy who has been to school thinks he is too good for it and should have a "white-collar" job.

A peculiar case is that of British Honduras, where the timber workers, manual labourers as they are, have always lived in towns on imported food, and who, when employment declines, think it beneath them to settle on the land and grow their own food.

The population has everywhere been rapidly increasing. At first the pressure in the more densely crowded areas was relieved by emigration, but as the effects of the depression of the nineteen-thirties were felt, everywhere immigrant workers were dismissed and sent home. The repatriation of some thousands of West Indians who had been employed on the Panama Canal was a serious blow. The war did less than had been hoped to increase employment, since the shipping shortage made it impossible to export most of the principal products. A temporary improvement resulted from the demand for labour in the naval and air bases leased to the United States.

Attention was drawn to the West Indies in 1938 when the general discontent found expression in serious riots in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. An inquiry was at once instituted into labour conditions and this was followed by the Moyne Commission, appointed to make a general inquiry into social and economic conditions. On the recommendation of this commission the Secretary of State appointed a Comptroller with a staff of expert advisers to organize a general development programme. As a result the West Indies have been the subject in the last few years of a more comprehensive review and concerted planning of welfare services than any other part of the colonial empire.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the leasing of the bases to the United States, an organization was set up which was unique in colonial administra-

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V.

tion. This was the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission created in March 1942 "for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening social and economic co-operation between Britain and the United States in their respective territories in that area."

## II. EDUCATION

If there can be said to be any single key to all the social problems arising out of modern developments in the colonies, then education is the key. Its broadest function could be described as the promotion of a satisfactory adjustment of the peoples of the colonies to the new conditions created by the impact of European civilization. In this adjustment the approach to the adult is at least as important as that to the child, and the work of the Medical and Agricultural Departments as important as that of the Education Department itself. The community work described in Chapter V is essentially educational. This wider aspect has been emphasized in many statements of policy, and it must always be kept in mind, though a description of the activities of the Colonial Education Service necessarily deals largely with the schools which are its direct responsibility, and which, as was pointed out in a recent official memorandum, form "the central point of advance."<sup>1</sup>

The need for a combined approach to problems of development generally was recognized earlier in the educational than in any other field, and an official statement of policy issued by the Colonial Office in 1925 insisted that "as a part of the general policy for the development of the people every department of Government concerned with their welfare or vocational teaching—including especially the departments of Health, Public Works, Railways, Agriculture—must co-operate closely in the educational policy."<sup>2</sup>

### THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies was first set up in 1923, with special reference to tropical Africa. Various circumstances at that time led to a concentration of interest in Africa. The creation of the mandate system, with its insistence on the principle of trusteeship and the regular public discussion of the administration of the mandated areas, drew

<sup>1</sup> *Mass Education in African Society*, Col. 186, H.M.S.O. 1943.

<sup>2</sup> *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Cmd. 2374, H.M.S.O. 1925.

attention to the whole range of problems involved in the government of colonial territories. A review of education in all the African dependencies and proposals for its adaptation to the needs of rural communities was made by the Phelps Stokes Commission, a body of American education experts who travelled all over the continent between 1920 and 1924. The Carnegie Corporation also took especial interest in the development of African education. The immediate occasion for the creation of a committee to advise the Secretary of State on education in tropical Africa was the submission of a memorial by the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland. Later the committee's terms of reference were widened, and it became the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.

This Committee, composed of experts on various aspects of teaching and educational and general administration, advises the Secretary of State on any matters which he refers to it, whether plans for the development and organization of education generally or points arising in particular dependencies. Questions such as the local administration of educational services or the language to be used in education may be referred to it. Its recommendations, if accepted by the Secretary of State, are forwarded to the various colonial Governments, with whom it rests to apply them in the form most appropriate to local circumstances.

#### ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Although this book is concerned primarily with the work of the colonial services it is impossible to discuss education without bearing in mind the immense part played by missionary activity, particularly in Africa, the West Indies and the Pacific Islands. The majority of the European teachers in Africa and the Pacific, and a considerable number in Malaya and Ceylon, belong to the staff of the missions and not to the Colonial Education Service. It must be remembered, too, that of the total number of teachers at work in the colonies the great majority are drawn from the colonial peoples themselves.

The Colonial Education Service consists of a small number of persons who are concerned in the general direction of education, as inspectors or administrators, with the staffs of the few institutions, mostly for advanced education, which are managed directly by the Government. The majority of the posts filled by the mem-

bers of this service are in Africa and Malaya. They number some 530, of whom 87 are women. Their status and qualifications are comparable to those of administrative officers and they are appointed in the same way by the Secretary of State on the advice of a selection committee.

The Colonial Department of the London University Institute of Education provides courses of lectures on the special educational problems of colonial areas, which may be taken by men appointed to the service after selection. They may also study native languages at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. This school has also contributed to the development of standard forms of some native languages which are widely used in teaching. An introduction to social anthropology is given at the Institute of Education and more advanced teaching at the London School of Economics. The Colonial Governments and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures have given grants to Education Officers and mission teachers to enable them to take courses at these institutions.

Information about recent developments in colonial education is made available in *Overseas Education*, and in the *Colonial Review*, a digest of articles which deal with educational and social developments in the colonies.

#### PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

All the statements of policy which have so far been issued by the Colonial Office refer specifically to Africa. But the principles laid down in these memoranda have in fact proved to be of general application.

The basic principles of policy were laid down at the outset in the *Memorandum on Education Policy in Tropical Africa*<sup>1</sup> and the work of the Committee has consisted largely in suggesting the best methods for the application of these principles. The aim of education, it was stated, "should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life . . . and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable,

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 2374, H.M.S.O. 1925.

trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. . . The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit the door of advancement through higher education must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education."

The *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*<sup>1</sup> is the fruit of ten years' study and experiment in the application of these principles, and of developments in the attitude towards education in Britain itself. After insisting on the inter-relation of all factors of community life, it urges that the school can make its most effective contribution only as part of a more comprehensive programme directed to the improvement of the total life of the community. "Experience of the education of rural communities in different countries tends to show that efforts to educate the young are often largely wasted unless a simultaneous effort is made to improve the life of the community as a whole." A new type of teacher was required, who would be trained in rural surroundings and would be capable of acting as a community leader. Education should be more closely related to the local environment. There must be "a close and vital relation between the school and the best traditions of the past and the living forces of the society which the school is meant to serve." But at the same time the school should act as a progressive force, spreading the new knowledge and skill required to improve the life of the community, supplying new motives and incentives to betterment and fostering an intelligent interest in the environment. This Memorandum urged the development of rural community middle schools serving groups of villages, which would give an education that was both cultural and at the same time local in outlook. It stressed the importance of adult education and recommended "the appointment of agents, European and African, who are specially trained to develop this type of education, including such activities as farm demonstration, assistance in marketing and health instruction." It will be part of the task of these agents to render more per-

<sup>1</sup>Col. 103, H.M.S.O. 1935.

manent the results of their teaching by "organizing the people in formal groups to carry out together what they have individually recognized to be desirable." The need for the support of both tribal and educated natives was emphasized. Africans must be the main agents in the execution of any programme and supply most of the driving force. Special organizations should be developed to plan and execute schemes of social betterment; these might be conferences of the officials concerned or some form of rural community council, according to circumstances. It was pointed out that this programme was not incompatible with the development of higher education; on the contrary, the advancement of the great body of the people would make it necessary to employ more and more trained Africans.

The conception of education as a community service was yet further emphasized, and the methods which it should adopt more clearly defined, in the *Memorandum on Mass Education in African Society issued in 1944*.<sup>1</sup> This recognizes the danger of a one-sided development in which the schooling of the child is not closely related to plans for the advancement of the community as a whole, and urges that juvenile, adolescent and adult education should be inseparable parts of a single programme of mass education. Only in this way will it be possible to close the gap between the generations that is being created by the rapid social changes of the present time, and to develop the sense of citizenship and understanding of the realities of the modern world which are essential to any people aspiring to control its own destinies.

While Education Departments must play the central rôle in putting programmes of mass education into practice, they must act in the closest co-operation with other departments, and, above all, with the District Officers, who have unique opportunities of influencing the people among whom they work. The value of the contribution to be made by missionary bodies, which had already been stressed in the *Memorandum on Educational Grants-in-Aid*<sup>2</sup> is again emphasized. Most important of all, the real and active co-operation of the people themselves must be secured.

Four primary objectives are laid down: (1) the extension of schooling for children, aiming at universal school within a measurable time; (2) the spread of literacy among adults; (3) the planning

<sup>1</sup> Col. 186, H.M.S.O. 1944.

<sup>2</sup> Col. 84, H.M.S.O. 1933.

of mass education as a movement of the community itself; (4) the effective co-ordination of mass education and welfare plans. It is proposed that schemes of mass education should have definite targets for an all-round advance within a specified period.

Such schemes would first be applied experimentally in relatively small areas, selected because they present some specific problem which is recognized as such by the people and which there is a reasonable chance of overcoming; for example, soil erosion, over-production of a single crop, chronic malnutrition or juvenile delinquency. A campaign would then be prepared in consultation with members of the community who might be expected to support it.

The organization of mass education must therefore be extremely flexible, its methods and conduct depending on the problems to be dealt with. The only aspects in which all programmes would be uniform would be in their emphasis on literacy and on popular support. The programmes must be related to existing welfare activities both of official and missionary agencies.

Special Mass Education Officers will be needed to organize these campaigns. They must already have had varied experience in the territory where they are to work. They might be drawn from the administrative or any of the technical services; or they might be found among welfare officers or men in the service of missions. They must be genuinely interested in the welfare of the people among whom they would work and have a bent for the sociological studies that would be necessary in order to be able fully to comprehend the nature of the social changes which it would be their duty to guide. In addition, the advice of expert sociologists will be needed, and this they can best give if they are members of the staff of centres of higher education.

Where a mass education campaign is planned, a local association of progressive individuals should be set up to form a liaison between the community and those who seek to educate it, and from such associations the bulk of the personnel engaged in the work would come. After some schemes have been launched, voluntary workers from other areas should attend short residential courses at places where they have met with particular success. In addition centres of higher education should provide training for these workers.

Existing organizations which have a party play in mass educa-

tion are parent-teacher associations, co-operative societies, trade unions and Boy Scout and Girl Guide Associations, in addition to the Christian missions which throughout Africa have been the pioneers in the education of children.

It would be quite impossible within the scope of this book to give a comprehensive account of all the varied educational activities of the different colonial dependencies. All that can be done is to give some examples of the way in which the principles of policy just quoted are put into practice.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

Christian missions have played a preponderant part in education among those peoples which were pagan at the time when they first came into contact with Europe. In the two African dependencies where education is most widespread, Uganda and Nyasaland (in the latter territory it is claimed that 60 per cent of the population is literate), mission schools were firmly established long before they became British Protectorates. In the African dependencies generally, nearly all schools are managed by Christian missions which receive grants from the Government and are subject to Government inspection, only a few institutions for advanced or technical training being directly under the Government.

In the West Indies education has been largely the responsibility of the local churches and of missions. In the Pacific Islands, too, with the exception of Tonga, mission activity has been of primary importance. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands mission schools are sufficiently numerous for education to be made compulsory, and the revenues obtained from the phosphate industry make it possible for all schooling to be given free. In the Solomon Islands education is entirely in the hands of missions, though the organization of a Government Education Department was under way at the time of the Japanese invasion.

The position has been different in Ceylon and Malaya, where so many of the population belong to the ancient religions of the East—Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism. Although Christian missions have been the first in the field, the Government later stepped in to provide education for that part of the population which did not wish to change its religion. In both these areas the Government is directly responsible for the schools giving education in the native

vernacular. The numbers of schools in which the medium of a instruction is English are about equally divided between Government and missions. Vernacular education for the children of the Indian community, apart from that on estates, is partly in the hands of Christian or Tamil religious bodies and partly in those of private individuals, who can qualify for assistance if they attain to the required standards. In Malaya there are a large number of Chinese vernacular schools managed by independent district committees, or, occasionally, financed by charitable individuals.

#### PARTICIPATION OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

In all the African dependencies there are Advisory Boards of Education on which representatives of local European and native opinion sit along with senior officials of all departments concerned with education and representatives of missionary bodies engaged in educational work. An African from the Union was a member of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa, and that recently appointed to inquire into the position of higher education in West Africa includes the African member of the Gold Coast Executive Council and the African headmaster of a Nigerian school. In the West African colonies Africans have held important posts in the Department of Education, and in East Africa there are African inspectors of schools.

As the African peoples increasingly undertake the control of their own educational system, this will doubtless become the responsibility of local authorities created for the purpose. At the present time local boards of various kinds exercise different degrees of responsibility in different areas. Some of these are empowered to allocate the educational grants available for their districts, and as a further development they may eventually levy education rates.

As would be expected, most progress has been made in those dependencies where Native Administrations are most fully developed. In Northern Nigeria the majority of the schools are maintained by the Emirates. Native Administration schools in 1942 numbered 222. Lectures on the working of the native administration system are given as part of the training course for teachers in these schools.

In Southern Nigeria, where the native treasury system was introduced much more recently, many native authorities thought

of schools as the first object on which they would expend their revenues, and here too there have been since 1934 a growing number of native administration schools meeting their expenses entirely from local taxation and fees, and staffed by teachers from a native administration training school.

In Tanganyika Native Administrations in 1941 maintained 41 schools, most of which were central boarding schools with feeder schools grouped round them. In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, where Native Administrations with their own treasuries have only recently been constituted, they maintain eight such schools.

In Northern Rhodesia there are 21 Native Administration schools. Members of the school councils collect the fees and order the school equipment; as a result the people have come to realize what happens to the money they pay as they never did before.

In Nyasaland one native authority in 1935 made education compulsory, and has enforced this ever since, with the result that school attendance has doubled.

In Ceylon, where a fully fledged local government system is already in existence, a statutory education committee has been appointed in each local government district.

In Kedah (Unfederated Malay States) village schools managed by committees of elders were initiated in 1935. The villages gave the land, built the school, and had powers to appoint and dismiss the teacher. The Government inspected the schools and paid a contribution towards the upkeep of the teacher; the greater part of this, however, was derived, in traditional fashion, from presents from the villagers. In 1938-39 there were 29 such schools with 11,742 pupils. Although attendance could not be made compulsory, this represented 86 per cent of the children in the villages concerned, a proportion almost as high as that in the Government schools.

In Tonga the native Government has managed schools since 1882. Primary education is compulsory for both boys and girls, and 80 per cent of both boys and girls attend. It is claimed that the population is 100 per cent literate.

In Fiji a number of schools were given up by a missionary society in 1931 and taken over by the Provincial Councils. Funds for building and equipment are raised by local committees, the members of which are all Fijians.

## EDUCATION FOR RURAL LIFE

The emphasis which has been laid on the importance of the rural school since the publication of the *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities* is the inevitable corollary of any attempt to broaden the basis of education. The character of the education given in the early days in the colonies was the reflection of the circumstances that brought the mission school into being. The early missionaries were concerned primarily with spreading the Christian gospel. They did not expect or wish to be responsible for the general education of native peoples. But for the work of spreading the gospel they needed the help of native catechists who could read the Bible; so they began to teach reading, and from this there gradually developed a whole educational system. This, as was inevitable, was modelled on that current in England at the time. It was a time when little had been done in England itself to formulate basic principles of educational theory or even a general line of policy, so that it was not surprising that little consideration was given to the possibility of designing a type of education better adapted to the local environment.

In practice the school became very largely a means of removing the pupil from his home environment and qualifying him to earn a living elsewhere. It was looked upon as a place where the white man's wisdom was taught, and the introduction of a type of school which makes the improvement of village life its principal aim has had to overcome a certain amount of suspicion. The average parent did not readily see why his son should go to school to learn farming, which was just what he would be doing if he stayed away from school—still less his daughter to learn cooking. It was also widely believed that any deviation from the type of education given in English schools must be for the worse and might even be designed to keep the colonial peoples in an inferior position. For this reason it has been particularly important to maintain contact with representatives of local opinion at all stages in the framing of policy. Another reason why it is essential that the rural school should command the confidence of the population is that, if it does not, children will leave the villages to look for what is believed to be a better education in the towns.

In carrying out what is in effect a revolution in educational methods, there are other difficulties besides the conservatism not only of parents but sometimes of teachers. Entirely new text-

books, syllabuses and teacher training courses are required, and such changes are not made without hard work, expense and difficulty. Accordingly it is not surprising that outside observers of colonial school systems still tend to find teaching unduly "literary" or "academic." On the contrary, it is gratifying to see what progress has been made with rural education in many parts of the colonial empire.

In Africa the earliest example of schools designed to meet the special needs of rural communities were the Jeanes training schools set up after the visit of the Phelps Stokes Commission, a body of American educational experts, to East Africa in 1923. This system was adapted from one which had been found successful in negro villages in the United States. The general principle on which they are based is that the school is run on the lines of a model village, buildings, apparatus and implements used being always such as would be available in the native village. Married teachers are selected for training, and while the husband studies methods of village improvement in agriculture, housing and sanitation, his wife learns the elements of child welfare. Then they are expected to develop the schools to which they are sent as community centres through which these principles will be spread.

Jeanes schools were opened at Kabete near Nairobi (by the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation), at Zomba in Nyasaland, and at Munali in Northern Rhodesia. The most successful has been that at Zomba, where since 1933, in addition to the two-year course for community leaders, regular shorter courses are taken by chiefs and school supervisors. All these bring their wives and children and live for some months in the surroundings of the model village. This has been found invaluable in enlisting the understanding and support of the chiefs for schemes of village betterment. In various centres village welfare committees have been set up under the supervision of chiefs who have taken this course and their wives.

The community leaders have practical training in the growing both of food and cash crops and in the care of cattle. Their wives are trained in dairy work and in the principles of nutrition, the latter in connection with experiments in feeding at the children's welfare clinic. The training of leaders for work exclusively among adults has perhaps been more successful than the original attempt to combine the functions of school teacher and community worker.

The Advisory Committee on Education has recently expressed the view that there should be a clear distinction between the two, and that the school teacher should not be overburdened with work outside the school.<sup>1</sup>

The tribal schools in Northern Rhodesia, mentioned above, have of necessity to be boarding schools, since not only are the villages small and scattered, but their site is frequently changed owing to the system of shifting cultivation. Their link with the villages from which the children are drawn is maintained by giving four days of teaching in the school and having the teachers visit the villages and hold classes there at the week-ends. The Ngoni school stands near the office of the native treasury and a Native Administration hospital, and it is planned to make it a centre of interest in tribal affairs.

In Uganda the farm schools at Namutamba and Gulu aim at training boys who have had some education to make a living by farming. Training of this type is also given in the Gold Coast at Prince of Wales College, Achimota, which has two farms, one at the college itself, and another 70 miles inland where the soil and climate are suited to different types of cultivation.

In recent years there has been a development of special courses of training for teachers intended to give them a thorough grasp of the type of improvement in agriculture that can be taught in the villages. An example is the centre for demonstration work in rural reconstruction opened in 1940 at Ajeluk in the Teso district of Uganda, which has something in common with the Jeanes schools. A five-year programme was drawn up which included the building of a village hall, school, and dispensary, the re-building and re-siting of houses, improvement of the water supply, planting of trees for fuel and timber and the provision of grazing for cattle. Ante-natal and child welfare clinics are to be attached to the dispensary. A local welfare council, elected partly by the elders and partly by the present cultivators, takes an active interest in the work.

An agricultural training school recently opened at Mpwapwa in Tanganyika gives a three-year course for boys training to be teachers. It aims at giving them direct practical experience of the organization of a school garden suitable for the region, which is probably the driest in the Territory. The boys are housed in

<sup>1</sup> Col. 186. H.M.S.O. 1944.

"villages", about forty in each. Each village has its garden, on which a rotation of crops is grown, and, in addition, grass for compost or fodder, fruit trees, drought-resistant famine crops, and a firewood plantation. In addition they learn animal husbandry and dairy work from a school farm.

The training schemes at Ibadan and Umuahia, in Southern Nigeria, attached to experimental stations of the Department of Agriculture, are the fruit of many years' experiment by the Department. It was found that in many cases native farming methods were better suited to local conditions than those evolved in Britain, the superiority of which had previously been assumed, and it was realized that native farmers would distrust advice which proved to have unsatisfactory results. Prolonged studies were carried out in order to ascertain what methods would in fact produce better yields and maintain the fertility of the soil, and when conclusive results had been achieved the training centre was opened. Here teachers who already have some experience spend a whole cropping season working themselves on small farms. They also follow the experimental work, and thus learn to appreciate the reasons why certain methods are recommended to them as better than others. They then go back to their schools to start school farms under the supervision of an Agricultural Officer.

In Ceylon a new type of rural school was opened in 1932. Instead of the typical "literary" school syllabus the subjects to be taught were divided into four groups: Health; Study of the Locality; Occupations; and Literature, art, music, etc. The first part of the day was spent outside the school, partly in work on building, farming, digging wells, etc., and partly in the study of the neighbourhood. The study of "health," for example, included oiling water to keep down mosquitoes, testing the school water supply, keeping health statistics and visiting the local dispensary. The second half of the day was devoted to class-room work developed from the experiences of the morning. The fact that the pupils were as successful in the School Certificate examination as those in other schools did much to give the new school prestige.

A training centre for teachers was opened in 1934, and by 1940 there were over 250 schools of this type. Where possible the pupils are encouraged to plan out their own practical work. One school worked out a five-year development plan; at another the whole village turned out to plough the experimental field.

A Government committee in 1940 reported in favour of a three-year training scheme, to be organized by the secondary schools, to prepare boys who had just completed the secondary course for settlement on the land. Six schools offered to take part in this scheme.

In Malaya the Malay vernacular schools give considerable attention to native crafts. They teach gardening, poultry keeping, basket making, net making, weaving, soap making, block printing and book-keeping. In the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States education is free and attendance compulsory for all boys between 7 and 14 living within two miles of a school. It is estimated that 60 per cent of the children of school age do go to school; about a fifth of these are girls.

A plan for a scheme of rural education for the Solomons, worked out by an Australian educational expert after a visit of inquiry to the islands, was under consideration at the time of their occupation by Japan. The emphasis here was laid not on the improvement of native agriculture, which is already well adapted to local conditions, but on the development through the schools of co-operative societies.

The Glen Community School in St Vincent, established by the Methodist Mission in 1932, is the outstanding example of rural education in the West Indies. It began as a farm school, providing its own milk, eggs, meat, fruit and vegetables, and also producing fruit and vegetables for sale. With the assistance of a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, it is now being developed as "a school within a farm," the farm being no longer merely a source of produce, but a means of demonstrating the most effective means of land utilization, and particularly measures to combat soil erosion.

In Trinidad plans have been made for a Teacher's Training Institute to be set up in conjunction with a Farm Institute.

#### THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS

Girls' education has almost everywhere lagged behind that of boys. Mothers are usually reluctant to spare their daughters from household work, and so long as education is thought of primarily as the gateway to types of employment which are only open to boys, one of its strongest attractions to the parent is lacking in their case. Among those Moslem people where women are care-

fully secluded, British administrations have been careful not to go too far ahead of popular feeling in urging the importance of schools for girls.

Within the last two decades, however, many prejudices have been overcome, and the number of girls attending school is steadily increasing. In Malaya it was multiplied nearly four times between the censuses of 1921 and 1931, and was doubled again between 1931 and 1940. By this time girls accounted for 28 per cent of the school population, and only shortage of accommodation prevented the proportion from being higher. In Hong Kong girls represented 43 per cent of the school population.

In the two principal Moslem areas in Africa, Zanzibar and Northern Nigeria, the number of girls attending the Koran schools, where they learn to read and write Arabic, is growing. A Government school for girls in Zanzibar, opened in 1927, had over 300 pupils in 1940, and there are five Government girls' schools in Northern Nigeria. Valuable work has been done by the Church Missionary Society in the training of girls in midwifery and child care at Zaria in Northern Nigeria.

In Northern Rhodesia (a pagan area) parents said that they would not be afraid to send their daughters away from home to the tribal schools, since the tribal authorities would be responsible for them. In Kenya a rapid advance is expected to result from the appointment in 1943 of a Government Superintendent of Female Education. The first step will be to organize the training of African women elementary school teachers.

It has been pointed out that three types of education for girls must be considered.<sup>1</sup> A small but increasing number of girls whose parents themselves are educated are anxious to have the same education as their brothers and have shown that they can profit by it. Nigeria already has a woman barrister, Miss Stella Thomas, who was appointed a magistrate in 1943. In Uganda in 1940 three girls had completed the junior secondary course at King's College, Budo, the Church Missionary Society School, and embarked on the senior course, while in 1941 pupils at the Mill Hill Mission girls' school at Nkokonjeru took the School Certificate examination. Some girls have also reached this level at Queen's College, Lagos.

Then there is vocational training, which is becoming increasingly important, particularly the training of teachers, nurses, and mid-

<sup>1</sup> *Overseas Education*, July 1943.

wives. The shortage of teachers, an obstacle to the expansion of education in general, is particularly serious in the case of girls' education, which has so much leeway to make up. Girls are trained as teachers in nearly all the colonies. The Church Missionary Society in Uganda was the pioneer in the training of nurses and midwives. This is now done also in the West African colonies, and in Fiji and Tonga. Girls learn advanced shorthand and typing at Queen's College, Lagos.

The most interesting experiments in education designed as a preparation for marriage have been made in Africa, and a few may be described. A pioneer institution was the girls' school at Mbereshi, Northern Rhodesia, opened in 1915 by Miss Mabel Shaw. This school is organized as far as possible on the lines of village life, with the elder girls, chosen to be "house-mothers," as elders. All the subjects taught in class—geography, biology, arithmetic—are directly related to village life. Much time is given to sewing, weaving and pottery. All the work of cooking and keeping the houses clean is done by the girls in turn, and the elder girls master all the work of a European household. Some of them take it in turns to help at the weekly child welfare clinic attached to the maternity hospital close to the school. At first the elder girls took a share in the teaching during their last year; now many take a two-years' training course, and then, while still living at Mbereshi, go out to teach in villages near by.

In Southern Nigeria a number of Marriage Training Schools in charge of African women have been opened by the Church Missionary Society. Here girls who have left school are trained in cooking, sewing, hygiene and child welfare.

A very interesting example of a training centre of this kind on a small scale is Nsube, in Uganda, on a hill rising above the shores of Lake Victoria. Here there is a model house of the kind that a native teacher or clerk could afford to live in. The girl students take it in turn to live in this house, and while there are responsible for cooking and keeping it clean, and for the care of a baby. They learn to distemper the walls, make curtains, upholster chairs, and sew quilts and baby clothes, and in carpentry classes they make small articles that can be used in the house, such as a child's playpen.

But since the age of marriage is so young, and since at present the proportion of girls going to school is so small, the most impor-

tant approach to the improvement of home conditions must be for the present through community work.

The importance of domestic science has been stressed in Jamaica, where a grant has been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the extension of domestic science centres which will train girls for home management and also as teachers of housecraft in secondary schools.

#### THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION

The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies accepts the view of the Imperial Education Conference of 1923, in which all experts concur, that "the language best known and understood by the child on his entry into school life" is the most effective medium in the early stages of education.<sup>1</sup> English should of course be taught as a subject—it is perhaps the subject which all the colonial peoples are most anxious to learn—and advanced education can only be given in English.

The corollary of this principle is the provision of text-books in vernacular languages. In some regions—parts of Africa, and the smaller Pacific islands—this is by no means a simple matter. The vernacular text-books must be used, not only in the small village school, but in the central school at which the child makes the transition from learning in his mother-tongue to learning in English; and if this school serves an area populated by a number of small groups speaking different languages, it will clearly have to select one from among them. Then it becomes an uneconomic proposition to produce text-books in the other languages, with the result that for many children education is not in fact given through the medium of the mother-tongue. As far as possible languages are selected which are current over a wide area, and in Africa the school language is usually fairly closely related to the child's mother-tongue, and at any rate resembles its construction much more closely than does English.

The provision of literature in a language which has never previously been written presents its own problems. Most native languages have been first reduced to writing by missionaries, whose ideas on phonetics did not always agree. There have been cases where two systems of orthography, devised by rival missions, are

<sup>1</sup> *The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education.* African 1110, 1927. H.M.S.O.

clung to with as much passion as could be devoted to a fundamental doctrinal point. It is important to find the system which will give the least difficulty to the pupil. Again, when one form of a language that is spoken with dialect variations over a wide area is to be selected for use in schools, it is most important that the form to be thus standardized should be that which in fact deserves to be a standard. Valuable studies of native languages from this practical point of view have been made by the experts of the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

Another important problem is the provision of literature other than text books. Reading is not like swimming or bicycling, something that once learnt is never forgotten. A child who spends a year or two at school, and then goes back to a home where he never sees a book, will soon forget what he has learnt. To meet this need efforts have been made in Africa and in Malaya to produce a supply of vernacular literature that can be read with interest by adults. Translation bureaux, or language bureaux where original books as well as translations are produced, exist in Malaya, Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Northern Rhodesia. In East Africa, where Swahili is current as a lingua franca over a wide area, an Inter-Territorial Language Committee was set up in 1930 to devise a standard orthography and supervise the production of literature.

The International Missionary Council in 1929 formed an International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa which is supported by contributions from missionary societies in Britain, the European continent and America, Bible Societies and the Phelps Stokes Fund. It has also been assisted by the Carnegie Corporation. It promotes the preparation and distribution of suitable literature both in African and European languages, and provides subsidies to bring the cost of books within the reach of the African reader.

The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures encourages Africans to write in their own languages by giving a prize each year for the best original work in one of a group of selected languages.

The Advisory Committee have expressed their full sympathy with the desire of Africans to learn English, which, as they point out is "one of the main incentives, if not *the* incentive, of African parents in sending their sons to school." They describe the teaching of English as "the means whereby African life can be univer-

sally enriched," and assert that English is a necessity in all intermediate, secondary and technical schools.

The intense interest of Africans in English has to some extent hindered the development of African languages. But the realization that Europeans regard African languages as worthy of study has done much to increase interest in and respect for them among the Africans themselves.

#### ADULT EDUCATION

The plans for mass education in Africa outlined in the recent memorandum of the Advisory Committee on Education represent a great extension of the type of work already being done by some of the modern rural community schools that have been described, and by movements such as the 4-H clubs which are referred to in a later chapter.<sup>1</sup>

The more formal type of adult education by means of evening classes is organized in the towns in some colonies, notably in Malaya, and in Hong Kong, where there was an evening institute with over 1,000 students. Evening classes have been provided in Nairobi since 1940. A class is opened in any subject asked for by more than 6 persons. Night schools for men are provided on the Northern Rhodesia copper belt by the United Missions, and also classes for women in sewing and domestic science. Evening continuation classes were started experimentally at eight centres in Jamaica in 1943.

There has been a great extension of adult education in recent years in Ceylon. In 1939 there were 271 adult classes, at which English was the chief attraction. In that year arrangements were made for the training of numbers of unemployed teachers for adult education and rural reconstruction work. Four residential courses for adults were given in 1941. In Africa the education work done among colonial troops has laid the foundation of an adult education movement which may be greatly extended after the war through the agency of those Africans who have been trained as instructors.

The use of the cinema is being extended, notably in connection with health work, though among people as unsophisticated as the Africans great care has to be taken not to complicate the essential message of the film with irrelevant details on which they may concentrate to the detriment of the lesson that was intended.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 108.

More and more use is being made of broadcasting as a means of adult education in the widest sense, that is to say of the diffusion throughout the community of the ideas on which village betterment depends. In the conditions which obtain over the greater part of the colonial world this involves not only the preparation of suitable programmes but special provision for listening. Only a small minority of the population of any colony possess receiving sets. For the matter broadcast to reach the average man for whom it is intended, arrangements have to be made for "mass listening" by setting up powerful loudspeakers in frequented areas. This has been done both by administrations and by private individuals such as the managers of sugar estates in the West Indies.

In nearly all the colonies there are now Government-controlled transmitting or rediffusion stations from which various types of matter designed to interest the colonial populations in measures of social betterment are broadcast. Talks are given by officers of the various departments explaining the innovations which they are seeking to introduce—improved farming methods, forest conservation, sanitation and the like. The significance and value of new Government measures can by this means be brought home to great numbers of people who in the past would have resignedly accepted them—and doubtless, where possible, disregarded them—as the incomprehensible vagaries of the European. In addition all these stations can pick up and re-broadcast the London short-wave programmes especially designed for the colonial empire, which also contain matter bearing on the improvement of social welfare—for example, talks on the type of organization evolved in this country to deal with problems which the colonial areas are now having to face.

All the larger West Indian colonies have transmitting or rediffusion stations. In West Africa there is a transmitting station at Accra with rediffusion stations at Freetown, Bathurst, and three centres in Nigeria, but communal listening facilities have not so far been greatly developed. In East Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Northern Rhodesia have transmitting stations. Broadcasts are given from Nairobi in seven vernacular languages. In Uganda Africans have been very successful as performers and announcers. Broadcasting facilities, including provision for communal listening, are well developed in Ceylon. For the Pacific a station at Suva in Fiji broadcasts to Fiji and Tonga. Hong Kong had a well de-

veloped service, giving broadcasts on three wavelengths, and a large body of listeners both Chinese and British.

#### EDUCATION AT LABOUR CENTRES

In Malaya and Ceylon it is compulsory for estates to provide schools for the children of their employees, and some attain a high standard.<sup>1</sup> This development is largely due to pressure from the Government of India. No such obligation has yet been imposed in any other part of the colonial empire. Progressive estate owners in the West Indies provide such schools, and within the last few years a few have been opened on estates in East Africa.

The most interesting development of education in an urban industrial centre is on the copper belt in Northern Rhodesia. The various missionary societies at work here have combined in a body known as United Missions to maintain a single school system. There are schools at each of the large mines, planned on uniform lines, so that if a child moves with his parents from one mine to another he can be admitted to the new school with the minimum of dislocation. No fees are charged, and at three of the five centres education is compulsory. The result has been a great increase in the number of children attending school. Compulsion is imposed between the ages of 12 and 16; this raises the problem that some girls under 16 are wives, and many boys under that age are in employment. There is also a boarding school where 60 girls are being trained as teachers and home demonstrators.

#### ADVANCED EDUCATION

Where the available revenues are limited, it is one of the most difficult questions of policy to decide how they are to be divided between the extension of popular schooling and the provision of more advanced education—which is relatively much more costly—for the minority who reach the stage where they can profit by it. But the mere existence of an educational system presupposes the provision of higher education. The elementary school must have teachers; these must have had secondary education; and higher education is necessary to provide teachers for the secondary school. The importance of higher education was fully recognized by the Secretary of State in his statement to Parliament of July 13, 1943. "Colonial universities and colleges," he said, "will, first of all,

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter III, p. 63.

have to meet the enormously increased need for trained professionals which increased social and economic services will necessitate. . . . They will have, too, to do an immense amount of research. . . . Finally . . . they will have a great task beyond their walls. With the extra-mural activities and refresher courses which they will give, they will be able throughout the areas of which they are centres to stimulate general progress and encourage the production of leaders from those who gain their knowledge and experience from their daily life."

Within the last decade plans have been made for the establishment of universities in each of the principal colonial areas. In several cases these are based on the development of institutions that originally had a purely vocational purpose. The University of Hong Kong; Raffles College, Singapore; and Gordon College, Khartoum; each had as its nucleus a medical school, and Makerere College, Uganda, is built on the foundations of the Mulago Medical School combined with a Government Technical College.

The University of Hong Kong was established in 1911. It had faculties of medicine, engineering and arts. It was originally conceived as a centre for the spread of higher education in China. It did not succeed in attracting many Chinese students from the mainland, partly owing to the growth of nationalism in China, partly because the sons of wealthy Chinese preferred to combine their studies with seeing the western world and therefore went to Europe or America, and partly because the cost of education in Hong Kong was much higher than in the Chinese Universities. Hong Kong, however, provided higher education for Chinese students from the colony itself and from Malaya.

The establishment of a University in Ceylon was recommended by a Commission in 1929. There were various delays in putting the recommendations into practice, but a Principal was appointed in 1940 and despite the war emergency the University began to function in 1943. It incorporates the University College, Colombo, and the Colombo Medical College. It is in many ways similar to the newer Indian universities and makes special provision for oriental studies.

The Commission on Higher Education in Malaya in 1939 recommended that Raffles College should be developed in such a way that the question of raising it to university level could be reviewed at the end of ten years.

In Africa the aim is to have one centre for higher education in the east and one in the west. Makerere College at Kampala, which is expected to attain university status in a few years, has already become the East African centre. Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika contribute to its upkeep, and boys from all these territories, and also Zanzibar, study there. The majority of the students come from the Baganda in whose country the College is situated. A Commission which visited East Africa in 1937 recommended that it should be developed to university level, and an experienced British headmaster, Mr G. C. Turner of Marlborough College, was appointed as Principal. The foundation stone of the new Higher College was laid in 1939, and the buildings, with the exception of students' hostels, were completed by 1942. Plans have been made for a Department of Social Studies which will serve as a centre of sociological research for East Africa.

A Commission on Higher Education in West Africa was appointed in August 1943. The most advanced educational institution in West Africa at present is Prince of Wales College at Achimota in the Gold Coast, which prepares students for examinations of the University of London. Within the last few years Achimota has given special attention to the development of local crafts on commercial lines. In this respect the Gold Coast has led the way in practical steps towards that stimulation of local industries which is now generally regarded as an important factor in the economic development of colonial territories. Recognition of the value of this work has been made by the grant of £127,000 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act to finance the first five years of a West African Institute "to be responsible for the development of local arts and industries and for simultaneous and closely associated work in sociology and economics, with special, though not sole, reference to industrial production and marketing."<sup>1</sup>

A Commission on Higher Education in the West Indies left England in February 1944.

The first report of the Colonial Research Committee, which was set up in 1942 to advise the Secretary of State on the expenditure of the £500,000 a year provided for research under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, recommended the development of the colonial institutions for higher education as centres of research. This, in their view, would not only raise the standard of learning

<sup>1</sup> *Overseas Education*, April 1943.

in these institutions, but would help to remove the sense of isolation from which research workers in the colonies have suffered in the past. The Committee urged that the Commission appointed in August 1943 to study the possibilities of co-operation between British Universities and colonial centres of higher education should bear these points in mind.<sup>1</sup>

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### III. LABOUR

#### 1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

The problems of labour which at present confront the colonial empire are essentially similar to those which every European country has had to face in the process of industrialization. The development of large-scale industry with its demand for a great number of workers at one spot has everywhere led to a rapid influx of population to the industrial centres. There was in Britain an initial stage in which employers and landlords had little sense of obligation, when no control was imposed on wages or conditions of work, when insufficient wages drove the worker to live in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions, and made it necessary for women and children to work as well as men, so that family life was broken up, and education was impossible. The development of a social conscience led in this country to the prohibition of child labour and the introduction of compulsory education, to factory acts imposing minimum conditions and empowering Government

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 6486, H.M.S.O. 1943, p. 12.

officials to inspect premises, to the fixing of minimum wages, provision for compensation for injuries received at work, and later to the conception of social security in the form of old-age pensions, health and unemployment insurance. Trade unions had to fight for recognition of their right to represent the workers.

In the colonies similar developments have taken place, though with differences due to their special conditions. In the West Indies the emancipation of the slaves meant that such benefits as the worker derived from the paternal attitude of the good master might be lost while nothing took their place. In other colonies employers, often operating on a narrow margin of profit, tended to accept the fact that their employees were accustomed to a low standard of living as justifying conditions that would not be tolerated at home, and there was no local public opinion to put pressure on them. The fact that so many labourers did not intend to settle at the place of employment was a deterrent to expenditure on housing and welfare generally.

Where the workers have had to be brought from overseas or sometimes for long distances overland, it has been customary in the past for them to be recruited on behalf of the employers by agents who arrange for their transport. In these cases a contract is concluded which prescribes the conditions of work and binds the worker to complete a given period of time in employment. In the case of overseas employment this used normally to be fixed at three years, since it was argued that anything less did not give the employer any opportunity to recoup himself for the expense of recruiting and transport. These contracts were subject to "penal sanction"—that is to say that a breach of contract by either side was a criminal offence. The provision was justified on the ground that, as the employee had no property, he could not be dealt with by a fine. It is, however, coming more and more to be abandoned except in the case of deliberate fraud. As is mentioned below, the British Government has ratified the International Labour Convention on Penal Sanctions.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR SERVICES

A special department of the administration concerned with labour questions was set up in Malaya in 1912. In Africa this came much later. Tanganyika Territory led the way in 1926 with the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 52.

creation of a department which did valuable work in meeting the needs of the migrant labourer by the provision of rest houses on the routes most frequented by labourers travelling on foot; in seeking to reduce the waste of time and energy involved for men of the up-country tribes in traversing the whole territory when they might have found employment close at hand; in studying the reaction of different tribes to employment so as to see if some took to it more kindly than others; in suggesting means of acclimatization and suitable diets for men working in an environment very different from that of their homes; and in remedying grievances that often turned out to be due to misunderstandings.

The depression of 1930 and subsequent years led to the abolition of this department, and to a general reduction in activities of this kind. It was not for several years that interest revived. A factor which contributed greatly to this was the work of the International Labour Office on the study of questions peculiar to colonial conditions. In 1937, when the financial position of most colonies was improving, the Secretary of State in a circular dispatch pointed out that it was only right that a fair share of this benefit should be passed on to the workers in the territories concerned in the form of improved social services. As a first step he urged the appointment in all colonies of special whole-time staff to deal with labour questions. This need was emphasized by the disturbances which broke out on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia in 1935 and in various West Indian islands in 1938.

In 1937, also, a separate Social Services Department was created in the Colonial Office, to centralize work in the sphere of social policy which had formerly been handled independently for each territory. Although there have been frequent demands for the creation of a special Labour Department, in practice much of the work of the Social Services Department has been concerned with labour conditions.

In May 1938 the post of Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State was created and was given to Major Orde Browne, who had organized the Tanganyika Labour Department, was a member of the International Labour Office Committee of experts on native labour, and had already made a study of labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia at the request of the Government of that territory. He visited the West Indies, West Africa, Ceylon, Mauritius

and Malaya, and his reports on conditions in all these territories have been published as Command Papers.

In 1942 a Colonial Labour Advisory Committee was set up to advise the Secretary of State on any questions concerning the employment of labour in the colonies. Its members are Sir Frederick Leggett, Chief Industrial Commissioner at the Ministry of Labour, Sir John Forbes-Watson, Director of the British Employers' Confederation, J. Hallsworth, member of the General Committee of the Trades Union Council, Cecil Murray, representative of West Indian Agricultural employers, Andrew Dalglish, member of the Transport and General Workers Union, and three Colonial Office representatives, including the Labour Adviser. The Chairman is the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies (*ex officio*).

On December 3rd, 1942, Lord Cranborne stated in the House of Lords that the British Government attached the greatest importance to the institution of satisfactory labour standards and labour machinery on a modern basis in the colonies. He emphasized the vital need for Britain to pass on to the colonial peoples the fruits of the past fifty years' experience in social legislation.

In 1937 only eleven colonial dependencies had special departments or staff to deal with labour questions, and of these six were in Malaya, while four more consisted of strictly limited inspectorates. At the present time there are Labour Departments in thirty-three colonies. The nucleus of staff for these new departments has been provided in most cases from officers of the Administrative service experienced in labour matters. In the case of smaller colonies with no large administrative staffs, labour appointments have been filled by the appointment of suitable local candidates, or in a very few cases, by the secondment of experienced officers from other colonies. Training courses were organized in London for Labour Officers on leave, at which both the problems peculiar to colonial labour and the way in which industrial problems are dealt with in this country were discussed.

The activities of the Labour Officers cover a wide field. They must organize labour exchanges; compile statistics on such questions as unemployment and the cost of living—no easy matter when dealing with people who are largely illiterate and often suspicious of questioning, or where, as in some West Indian islands, intermittent employment is so prevalent that it is hard to

know where to draw the line between employed and unemployed, inspect places of work; encourage the development of trade unions on the right lines; be in constant contact with employers and workers, aware of possible causes of friction and ready to use their influence as informal conciliators. They should also be in touch with education authorities responsible for vocational training. It is for them to see that the labour legislation of their colonies is kept up to date.

The qualifications recommended by Major Orde Browne for a Labour Officer are a good general knowledge of sanitation, housing, dietetics and diseases affecting labour; sufficient sociological knowledge for observation of the effects of employment on both the employee and his family; a general acquaintance with the customs of the tribes with which he is dealing; fluency in at least one local language; and familiarity with the conditions governing the employment of labour in the colony. It is not very easy to find persons combining all these qualifications, particularly among those who in this country have expert knowledge of labour organization. The training courses given in London to Labour Officers from the colonial services while on leave have been mentioned. The trade unionists who have been appointed to Labour Departments in the colonies take the Ministry of Labour course in factory personnel management, but until recently no arrangements had been made for organized instruction on the peculiar problems likely to be met with in colonial conditions. Such appointments have been made in Trinidad, British Guiana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

Africans have been appointed to junior posts in Labour Departments in Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda, and it is hoped that other African territories will adopt this practice.

Fifteen colonies have established Labour Advisory Boards or Committees consisting of representatives of employers and workers, with an independent Chairman and with power to co-opt medical, legal and other specialists. In colonies where it has not yet been possible to find suitable workers' representatives, their interests are entrusted to persons nominated by the Governor for that purpose. In the Bahamas and Bermuda, United States officials have been co-opted for the discussion of questions affecting labour in the leased bases. The questions which these bodies have considered include wage rates, cost of living, unem-

ployment, relief works, recruiting, the employment of women and children, and the abolition of penal sanctions for breaches of contract of employment. It is hoped that these boards will be effective in promoting good relations between employers and workers, and help to establish collaboration between employers and workers' organizations.

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION

The work of the International Labour Office has had an important effect in securing the passage of labour legislation in colonial territories, and, in particular, in assisting the growth of a consistent labour policy throughout the colonies. The British Government is under treaty obligation to cause any International Labour Office Convention which it ratifies to be applied to the British non-self-governing colonial dependencies except where special circumstances make this inappropriate. Twenty-five Conventions have been ratified by H.M. Government. These fall into two groups:

1. Conventions intended primarily to apply to the conditions obtaining in tropical countries with large indigenous working populations.
2. Conventions designed primarily to apply to industrial countries.

Of the first group the most important are the Forced Labour Convention of 1929, the Convention on the Recruitment of Labour of 1936, and the Conventions of 1939 dealing with Penal Sanctions and the Regulation of Contracts. In the case of those passed in 1939 Great Britain was the first member of the International Labour Organization to ratify. The Forced Labour Convention has been applied in its entirety to every British Colonial dependency. The Convention allows the employment of compulsory labour by native chiefs for public purposes of direct interest to the community. There are eight dependencies in which this is permitted; each of these territories renders a special report on the subject every year.

During the war it was found necessary in certain territories (Nigeria, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Seychelles and Mauritius) to resort to the conscription of labour for work essential to the prosecution of the war and to the life of the community. The definition of forced labour in the Convention expressly excludes

such work as may be necessary in case of various emergencies, including war. The safeguards prescribed by the Convention in cases where forced labour is employed have, however, been applied to all these war-time schemes, and in Kenya it was reported in 1942 that the standards set for conscripts had led to a general improvement in labour conditions.

The provisions of the Conventions on Recruiting, Contracts of Employment and Penal Sanctions in many cases already formed part of the legislation of the different colonies, but they have been further extended since the Conventions were ratified. The Convention on penal sanctions specifies the following breaches of contract for which penal sanctions shall be abolished as soon as possible: refusal to begin work, neglect of duty or lack of diligence, absence without leave and desertion.

Many provisions of the second group, such as those for compulsory old-age and invalidity insurance, are in advance of present colonial conditions. Of the remainder, the Minimum Wage-fixing Convention, the Convention relating to conditions of employment of women and young persons in industrial undertakings, and the Maritime Conventions, have had wide application in the colonies. There has been considerable extension in recent years of workmen's compensation laws, the provisions of which follow the general principles of the I.L.O. Conventions.

## 2. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DIFFERENT COLONIES

### EAST AFRICA

Wage-labour for European employers is an important factor in the economy of most of the East African colonies. Kenya has its sisal, coffee and pyrethrum estates, Tanganyika sisal and coffee estates and gold fields, Nyasaland cotton and tobacco plantations, Northern Rhodesia the great mining area of the copper belt. In Uganda, although the majority of its dense population live by growing cotton, there are a few rubber, coffee and sugar plantations and some mines.

Most of the labour employed is drawn from a distance; but here, instead of a carefully controlled and organized migration overseas, the assembly of this force at the points where it is needed is the result of thousands of individual journeys on foot, often over hundreds of miles and across both inter-colonial and international boundaries, sometimes taking months, interspersed

with a spell of work at some place half way to the final goal. In Uganda it is an everyday occurrence to meet a string of Banya-ruanda from the Belgian mandated territory, with their few possessions slung in a Dick Whittington bundle over their shoulders, on their way to seek the work that leaves the Muganda peasant cold except when the price of cotton slumps. In the same way natives from the remote parts of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia make their way to the copper mines and beyond to Southern Rhodesia and even the Union of South Africa.

The extent of this migration can be best indicated by a few figures. Every year seventy or eighty thousand natives enter Uganda, the great majority from Ruanda and Urundi, and a few from the Sudan and the north-eastern corner of the Belgian Congo. In Tanganyika from 125,000 to 200,000 travellers in a year use the rest camps which the Government has provided for them. In Kenya in 1940 over 30,000 natives passed through the two rest camps at Nairobi and Kisumu. At any time there are about 100,000 natives absent from Nyasaland; in 1934 it was estimated that 50 per cent or more of the taxpayers were absent from some districts, and that of the total number 25 or 30 per cent would probably not return. In Northern Rhodesia in 1942, 99,000 natives were earning wages within the territory, mostly at a distance from their homes, and 64,000 outside, the great majority in Southern Rhodesia, others in the Union of South Africa, in Tanganyika and the Belgian Congo.

Only a small proportion of this labour is obtained by professional recruiting. This is regulated in conformity with the provisions of the International Labour Convention on Recruiting, which stipulates that the recruiter must satisfy strict conditions before a licence is issued to him, and that a written contract must be concluded. Further provisions, which were recommended for general adoption by the International Labour Conference, are that the conditions of employment should be explained to the recruit by a Government official, and should be entered on a document which would also show the worker's identity and record any advances made to him. The recruits are medically examined either before leaving home or shortly afterwards, and frequently a second time while in employment. The party must travel in charge of a responsible person, and provision must be made for the requirements of the journey.

Labour contracts were at one time regarded with a certain suspicion by those interested in native welfare. In the days when recruiting was subject to little control, and contracts enforced by the penal sanction, they were, as Major Orde Browne has put it, "little more than legal traps for the unwary native." The Africans too tend to regard the contract with suspicion, partly perhaps owing to memories of earlier abuses, partly owing to a widespread dislike of anything that savours of regimentation by the European authorities, and because, now that the industrial centres no longer have the terrors of the unknown, they prefer to go there independently and look round for themselves.

Yet a contract which is genuinely intended to safeguard the interests of both parties has at least as many advantages for the worker as for the employer. It gives him a definite guarantee of the wages and conditions that he can expect, assures him of proper provision for his journey both to and from work (which includes travel by rail or road transport where this is available), allows arrangements to be made for the payment of his tax before he leaves home, and the medical examination often leads to the detection and hence the treatment of diseases such as hookworm or yaws.

The contract also enables him to be identified in case of death or misadventure, so that the wages due can be sent to his relatives. Nevertheless it does not seem to be growing more popular.

The best form of assistance to the labourer who is determined to make his own way is the provision of rest camps such as those in East Africa, where facilities are given for obtaining food and medical attention. These will have to be considerably extended before it can be said that there is adequate provision for the many thousands of migrants.

An agreement concluded in 1936 between the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland provided that each Government will issue certificates to natives which can be used for identification, and as soon as is practicable will only admit to its territory natives furnished with such certificates. They will supply one another with information on the labour situation, and take measures to restrict the flow of labour if the interests of the natives demand this. Native labourers should in general be repatriated after two years. Unemployed immigrant natives are to be fed and housed till they can be repatriated. The

Governmcnts will agree on the points at which rest camps, food depots and dispensaries shall be provided. Rapid and cheap transport will be provided under Government control. Southern Rhodesia will institute a system for the remittance home of a share of the labourer's pay. A standing inter-territorial committee was set up to study labour problems and co-ordinate policy.

Welfare problems are most complex at the mines, since they require a far larger concentration of labour in one place than does any form of agriculture. The copper belt of Northern Rhodesia employs some 40,000 workers, the Lupa goldfield in Tanganyika about 18,000. The more important mines are usually well financed and can afford to spend money on good housing and other services. Minimum ration scales are laid down by law, and considerable research work has been done with a view to improving their food value. The difficulties that arose in the early days at the Lupa were largely due to the fact that most of the miners were small prospectors with little capital.

The majority of the workers on the copper belt have left their wives at home in the villages, but an increasing number bring their wives with them. As has been mentioned earlier, it is one of the major questions of policy whether this should be encouraged and an attempt made to build up a permanent labour force wholly dependent on urban employment. At present some mining companies make provision for family life in the compounds, but no serious steps have been taken to meet the problems of a permanent urban population.

One of the greatest difficulties at present is that the African woman has so much less to do in the mining compound than at home. She has no food-plots to look after, no journeys to make for wood and water; there remains only cooking and keeping the house clean. Some experiments have been made in housing on village lines, with a plot for cultivation attached to each house; for this to be done on any extensive scale would of course involve areas of land of an extent which it might be difficult to find in the neighbourhood of towns. Welfare nurses are now employed by each of the mines, and one is employed by the Government for work among women living outside the mine properties; classes are organized in such subjects as child care, cooking and sewing.

Material standards at the mines are high. A scale of rations is prescribed by law and is usually exceeded in practice. Housing

is hygienic if not beautiful. Hospitals are up to date, and a large medical staff not only treats patients but weighs and examines each employee once a month.

The Tanganyika gold, tin and diamond mines are of relatively recent origin, and the majority are small concerns with little financial backing. Though they cannot provide such standards of housing as the great Rhodesian companies, there has been a steady improvement since the early days in the standard of living and general care. A considerable staff, including a Labour Officer, a nursing sister and a sanitary inspector are attached to the Lupa area, and a Government dispensary was opened there in 1938. Thanks to the efforts of the Labour Officer, arrangements were made for the issue of a regular ration of fresh vegetables and lemons at the reef mines. A special Labour Medical Officer has been appointed in Tanganyika. On the alluvial diggings the main problem has been failure to pay wages. A total sum of £650 was recovered from defaulting employers in 1941.

The raising of welfare standards is a good deal more difficult in agriculture than in mining generally, since, with the exception of one or two large companies such as those owning the sisal estates of Tanganyika, employers usually have little capital and find it difficult to make ends meet in depression years. Within the limits of what is practicable, improvements are gradually effected by the persuasion, advice and encouragement of Labour Officers.

There is little industrialization in East Africa, and the number of Africans employed in factories is very small. Nyasaland is the only East African colony to have passed a Factory Act. An interesting appointment recently made in Tanganyika is that of an electrical engineer as Factory Inspector in the Labour Department.

Minimum wage legislation has been passed in all the East African Dependencies. The policy adopted in the colonies, generally speaking, has been, as in Great Britain, to encourage the effecting of wage adjustments by means of collective bargaining and only to have recourse to powers conferred by the minimum wage legislation when negotiations between employers and employees have failed.

There are, however, virtually no trade unions in East Africa. At some of the Northern Rhodesian mines a new develop-

ment in workers' collective action was started in 1942. Representatives are elected by native mine workers on a tribal basis. These men, with whom the Labour Officers are constantly in touch, keep themselves informed of native working conditions and make such representations to the management as they think desirable.

#### WEST AFRICA

As a matter of deliberate policy, West Africa has been developed primarily by independent native production of crops for export. It was the corollary of this policy that at one time labour conditions received less attention than they had in a region where the employment of wage-labour was the basis of the economy.

Apart from a few large plantations in the Cameroons, which had been started under the German occupation, the employment of labour by Europeans is confined to mining. This has developed very rapidly during the last ten years, though the tin mines of the Bauchi plateau and the Government coal mines at Enugu, both in Nigeria, have been in existence much longer. Gold and manganese are the most important minerals in the Gold Coast, diamonds and iron in Sierra Leone.

In this part of Africa recruiting has rarely been necessary. The demand for labour on a large scale did not come into existence till the population was fully conscious of the advantages of a cash income. Its expansion coincided with a heavy fall in agricultural prices and the peasant, finding his income halved, sought to supplement it by a spell of a few months at the mines. The difficulties of labour shortage, which elsewhere have impelled the employers to make provision through recruiting for the transport of workers and for medical attention, here never arose, and where the entire migration is spontaneous and unorganized it is hard to see how to enforce the controls which are desirable in the natives' interest. In the absence of a contract employers cannot, for example, be required to provide homeward transport for workers who are dismissed. Something has been done in the provision of rest-camps and dispensaries, and it has been suggested that medical inspections of an elementary kind might be made at the dispensaries. It has also been proposed that native authorities might give out information about the demand for labour and thus save unnecessary journeys to places where there was no employ-

ment to be had. In the Gold Coast there is an employment exchange at Kumasi, through which most of the men pass who come in from the hinterland, from neighbouring French territories and from Nigeria, to look for work. This office placed 1,270 persons in employment in 1939. A Government fund has been provided for the assistance of destitute labourers.

In the sphere of labour conditions a grant of £104,000 has been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for housing at Enugu, Nigeria. New labour regulations designed especially to meet conditions in the mining industry were issued in August 1942. Five officials have been seconded for labour welfare work at the tin mines and a woman Welfare Officer has been appointed. In the Gold Coast the construction of a housing estate for labourers in the Sekondi-Takoradi area was begun in 1943.

The report made by Major Orde Browne on his visit of inspection in 1940 commented on the fact that it was the general practice in West Africa to expect the employee to buy his own food, pointed out that this led to "almost universal undernourishment," and suggested that the introduction of a ration system such as that of the copper belt would improve both health and efficiency. At the tin mines this has now been done.

A remarkable feature of the West African economy is the extent to which Africans are becoming employers of wage-labour. This is particularly noticeable in the cocoa belt of the Gold Coast. The labour force consists in the main of immigrants. The position of the cocoa farmers has been precarious ever since the price of cocoa slumped; many of them are heavily indebted and it has frequently happened that they have failed to pay wages due. In 1940 the Masters and Servants Ordinance was amended so as to empower the courts to hear claims for wages where both parties are natives, and in 1941 the Kumasi Labour Office was instrumental in recovering sums totalling nearly £800.

In the Gold Coast the Labour Department has made special inquiries into conditions in casual labour, on the cocoa farms, at Takoradi harbour, in Syrian, African and Indian establishments and in urban areas generally.

An interrogation of a very large number of migrant workers passing north through one of the district labour offices revealed the interesting fact that the high percentage of 96 per cent of the

workers were returning with goods and savings, though in some cases the savings were pathetically small. 80 per cent were returning by lorry and less than 2 per cent were accompanied by women.

The Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigerian Labour Departments have instituted inquiries into the cost of living. In Nigeria a cost-of-living index was calculated for Lagos for the first time, a minimum wage of 2s. a day was fixed for unskilled Government employees, and a bonus of 3d. a day granted to all Government employees whose earnings did not exceed £36 a year. Government employees now work a maximum 45-hour week, with pay for holidays. For both daily wage-earners and technical and clerical workers there are now standard rates of pay, and provision for paid sick leave has been made. In the Gold Coast the bonus varies from 2d. to 6d. a day in different regions, and covers employees earning up to £66 a year. Most mining and European commercial firms gave increases to their employees after these grants were announced.

A peculiar difficulty for the salaried employee in West African conditions is that he is expected to be able to support a large number of relatives. A case is on record in which a man earning £27 a month was maintaining a household of nineteen persons. The sense of family obligation that leads a man to undertake such a burden goes very deep among West Africans, even those who have gone furthest in adopting European ways. It would be hard to devise any cost-of-living or allowance system that would take account of dependents on this scale; but it is certain that on this point African standards will not be lightly abandoned. Nor could one wish that they should be if this were to mean the neglect of family obligations to be seen in some colonial areas.

Labour conditions generally in Nigeria are governed by an Ordinance of 1929, which, with later amendments, is comprehensive enough to be described as a Labour Code. Workmen's Compensation Ordinances have recently been enacted on modern lines in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Trade union legislation has also been enacted in both colonies, and also in Sierra Leone. In Nigeria about 100 trade unions have been registered since 1939.

Some sixteen thousand natives of Nigeria are employed in the cocoa plantations of the Spanish island of Fernando Po. In 1942

an agreement was reached with the Spanish authorities for the recruiting of Nigerians under the controls prescribed by the International Labour Office Convention on Recruiting. An officer of the Nigerian Labour Department is stationed on the island to supervise the conditions under which they are employed.

#### MALAYA

The problems of the Malayan estates and mines were those of a migrant labour force—problems of transport and repatriation and of housing and welfare provision for a large population which depended for such provision entirely upon the employer. The main sources of employment were the tin mines and rubber estates; some labour was also employed on coconut and oil palm plantations and in gold mines. In Singapore the primary task was to raise the standard of welfare of the inhabitants of an Oriental city who had made a replica of their own home conditions and for the most part saw no reason to desire anything else. There were large tin smelters in Penang and Singapore, and factories in Malaya included a rubber factory owned by the Bata Company, and a number of smaller works—mostly Chinese-owned—for pineapple canning, sago refining, tapioca making, cigarette manufacture, as well as engineering works, foundries, brickworks and potteries. The large factories were hygienic, airy and well lighted, with pleasant living quarters, but in the smaller concerns living and working conditions left a good deal to be desired. A large scale municipal housing programme was being carried out at the time of the Japanese invasion.

Malaya was the first dependency to create Labour Departments. An Indian Immigration Department was set up in 1907 to deal with the problems of Indian indentured labour and at the same time an Indian Immigration Fund, financed by a compulsory contribution from planters, was established to pay all costs connected with recruiting, including costs of travel, food and medical inspection. Although the indenture system was abolished in 1910, the fund continued to function.

The Indian Government showed its interest in the fate of its subjects working abroad by passing the Indian Emigration Act of 1922, which requires that certain standard conditions be maintained by concerns employing Indians. It maintained an Agent in Malaya to supervise the observation of these conditions.

The Indian Immigration Department was replaced in 1912 by the Department of the Controller of Labour, which had separate sections for Indian and Chinese labour. In the case of the Chinese, however, it was not possible to arrange any system of assisted migration such as applies to Indians.

Up to 1938 Indian labour was recruited by what was known as the kangany system. The kanganies were recruiting agents employed by the plantation managers and paid a fee for each man whom they secured. They advanced the cost of the journey and recovered it from the labourer's wages. In this type of recruiting no contract was signed. Strict regulations were imposed to prevent exploitation by the kangany, who had to have a licence issued by the Deputy Controller of Labour and countersigned by the Agent of the Government of India, and must be a man who had himself worked at least three months on the estate for which he was recruiting. As the Malayan plantations became better known there was less need for recruiting. In 1937 only 11 per cent of the Indians working in Malaya were recruited by kanganies, and in the following year the Government of India abolished the system. It maintained its own assisted migration scheme. From 1908 free passages were paid from the Indian Immigration Fund. Although there was no such arrangement for Chinese, limits were imposed on the amount of the debt which could be incurred to recruiting agents.

The Malayan Labour Code applied to all classes of labour on estates and other places of employment. As revised in 1923 it laid down regulations governing medical and sanitary conditions, education, employment of women and children, and rates of pay. Housing was to be provided to a standard design, water supply must be wholesome, labourers' quarters must be kept in a sanitary condition and appropriate anti-malarial measures maintained. Medical attention and a hospital had to be available, and any estate with ten or more children between the ages of seven and fourteen was compelled to provide a school. Maternity allowances and two months' holiday were to be provided for mothers, a crèche with food and attendance for children under three, and the employment of children under ten years was prohibited. No labourer was to be fined or imprisoned for any labour offence. Double rates were to be paid for overtime. Labourers with dependents had to be provided with allotments for private cultivation.

Malaya was divided into zones, and the standard rate of wages for Indian labourers was fixed for certain key districts in each zone. In practice this tended to establish much the same rates of pay throughout the zone, since employers found themselves compelled to conform approximately to the standard in order to keep their labour. The standard wage was fixed to cover the following elements: enough rice and other foodstuffs to form a reasonable diet, clothing, festival expenses and a trip to India every three years, maintenance of dependents and a monthly saving of about \$1. A revised Labour Code was under consideration at the time of the Japanese invasion.

Such provisions were strictly followed on the larger estates, the managers of which were usually fully alive to the importance of their employees' welfare. Large estates in Malaya could be mentioned which challenged comparison with any in the colonial Empire, with Indian and Chinese quarters laid out on village lines, theatres as well as the more materially necessary schools and hospitals, arrangements for the collection and return of children by lorry to and from school and the provision for them of a free midday meal. A striking tribute to the standards of welfare attainable by Indian workers in Malaya is contained in the report made to the Indian Government by Mr Srinivasa Sastri in 1937. He remarked on the interest shown by the majority of the managers in planning improvements for the benefit of their employees and concluded that "the Indians are able to lead, particularly when accompanied by their wives and children, a healthy, respectable life and to aspire to a standard distinctly higher than they could attain in their own villages."

A major difficulty in the planning of expenditure on welfare services was caused by the wide fluctuations in the price of rubber. This dropped from 3s. a pound in 1925 to 2d. in 1932. Large estates accumulated reserves against depression. Smaller ones would go bankrupt, and sell to owners who neglected them until the price rose and then exploited them by "slaughter tapping"—ruthlessly taking the maximum amount of rubber from the trees during the year or two of improved prices and then letting them die. In such conditions there was no incentive to sink capital in welfare schemes and it was difficult to enforce the standards required.

Chinese immigration was less well organized and less strictly

controlled. The Chinese Government never insisted on such detailed requirements as were exacted by the Government of India for its nationals. Responsibility for the enforcement of the labour code in the case of Chinese workers rested with the Officers of the Chinese Protectorate in Malaya, who were appointed to the Labour Department for that purpose. A difficulty here was that in purely Chinese concerns many Chinese were quite content to work an 84 hour week in order the quicker to accumulate the savings which they hoped eventually to take back to China. This was the case even where the workpeople were earning good wages and had sufficient influence over conditions to be able to reduce their hours had they so wished.

#### CEYLON

In Ceylon the main labour problems are those of the migrant Indian labour force, though here the situation is complicated by the pressure of population which is driving the Ceylonese to seek an income from wage-labour. Owing originally to questions connected with the franchise when the new constitution of Ceylon was introduced, and subsequently to the preferential treatment of Ceylonese in selection for Government employment, the Indian Government imposed a ban on emigration to Ceylon, which has had various unfortunate effects. Many of the Indians employed in Ceylon expect to spend their working life there, but to keep in touch with their relations in India by periodical visits to them. In the present situation, if they go to India, they cannot return to Ceylon. The practical effect is that they are fixed on the estates, and that a formerly elastic labour force has become completely rigid. In war conditions the difficulty has been that of labour shortage; in peace time it might well be unemployment. Negotiations to overcome this deadlock have not so far been successful.

As in Malaya, elaborate arrangements were made with the Government of India to safeguard the welfare of Indian workers on the estates. Recruiting was organized and controlled by the Ceylon Emigration Commissioner, who is a Government official and also head of the Ceylon Labour Commission, an unofficial body maintained by the Ceylon Planters Association. The Indian Government maintains an Agent, whose duty it is to supervise conditions of employment and to investigate complaints from

Indian workers. There are no long-term contracts. The worker is free to leave an estate at any time on giving one month's notice. Every estate worker is entitled to six days' work a week, paid at the rate of wages fixed under the Indian Labour Ordinance of 1927. The working day is nine hours, including a period not exceeding one hour for the midday meal. Indian workers are protected by a Factories Ordinance and are given free housing, health services, medical attention and maternity benefits, all regulated by law, and their children receive free education and one free meal per day.

#### THE WEST INDIES

In order that the present labour situation in the West Indies may be understood, it is necessary to give a brief survey of the difficulties which have faced the major industries of this area in recent years. The chief contributory causes of the labour difficulties of this area are the economic depression in the islands and the almost feudal position of estate labour which has arisen as an inheritance from the days of indentured labour.

At the end of the 1914-18 war, the West Indian colonies were mostly flourishing. The sugar industry was booming as a result of high prices. This prosperity was, however, only temporary and no attempt was made to effect permanent improvements in the industry. From the middle of the nineteen-twenties onwards the main agricultural industries of the West Indies were all faced with declining prices. Even worse than this, each crop in turn—sugar, bananas, cocoa, limes, and even Jamaica's special product, pimentoes—was attacked by disease causing widespread havoc. Great efforts were made to overcome these disasters, but the only radical solution was to apply scientific technique involving labour-saving and economy measures which could only aggravate the general unemployment problem.

The prosperous sugar estates of the eighteenth century were dependent for their success upon imported slave labour from Africa. The African slaves lived in large barracks and were permanently attached to their particular estate. Their health, feeding and general welfare were the concern of their employer, and since they were paid no wages and food could be supplied cheaply, there was a general tendency to employ more slaves than would have been needed to perform the work had an efficient free labour

force been used. This fact has had a direct effect in causing the over-population of the islands in recent times.

The emancipation of the slaves completely altered the situation. The employers were no longer assured of a cheap, abundant and permanent supply of labour, nor could the emancipated slaves be certain of food, shelter or employment. Such labour as was now available was most inefficient, and after various experiments the estate owners adopted the expedient of importing indentured labour from India. The East Indians were primarily brought over for a contract period with a right to a return passage, but many of them remained permanently at the end of their period of employment. These immigrant labourers were housed in barracks and, as before, the employers were responsible for their well-being, though now wages were paid in addition to the housing and food provided free. The Indian Government exacted a rising standard in the arrangements made for its subjects, and in due course hospitals and schools were provided for them by the estates. The indenture system was continued in Trinidad and British Guiana up to 1917.

The termination of the indenture system released the worker from any obligation to remain with any particular employer. It also legally freed the employer from claims on him for food, housing, or anything beyond the wage. But the inhabitants of the labour barracks on the estates had come to regard them as their homes, and in many cases they had no other. Since it was also to the advantage of the plantation to have a large proportion of its labour force living near at hand, it came to be taken for granted that the labourers should be housed on the estates, and, despite the absence of any legal sanction, public opinion came to demand improvements in the standards of housing and the provision of adequately staffed hospitals and school buildings. Thus each large estate came to have attached to it a permanent population dependent entirely on its wages and faced with the loss even of its homes if its numbers had to be cut down. This made the more considerate employers reluctant to introduce labour-saving devices, and systems of part-time employment were introduced which meant a general reduction of wages.

The depression of the nineteen-thirties produced a situation in which the majority of workers could expect to be earning wages during only half the year, and would not risk seeking other em-

ployment because this involved giving up their homes. The remedy for such a situation lies in the provision of alternative means of subsistence.

The method most frequently advocated is that of land settlement schemes, which will create a class of peasant proprietors owning their own homes and growing a large proportion of their own food. If this were done on a sufficient scale the labour force on estates would be reduced to those in permanent employment, skilled and semi-skilled workers whose services are required throughout the year, and the burden on the employer would then be so much lightened that a good standard of living conditions could fairly be exacted. Both the West India Commission and the first report of the Comptroller of Development and Welfare emphasized that settlement was only one aspect of a broad agricultural policy, and that to achieve its aim it must be accompanied by a change from specialization on export crops to mixed farming. The Moyne Commission, in fact, recommended that the farming of the existing smallholders should be improved before new holdings were created, and the Stockdale Report urged that all settlement schemes must be "carefully balanced in relation to the general economy of the community and the State." It is in matters like these that it is important to have a central planning authority which can co-ordinate the contributions to general development of experts in various fields.

In the field of labour questions proper, the West India Commission recommended the compulsory registration of trade unions and the enactment of measures legalizing peaceful picketing and protecting trade unions from actions for tort, and, "to cover the period before trade unions are developed to the point at which they can play a decisive part in the regulation of wages and conditions of employment, action by Government in this direction through the medium of Labour Departments or Officers." It also recommended the creation of wages boards, with an industrial court for the West Indies as a whole, the improvement of factory inspection and factory legislation closely co-ordinated with measures relating to public health, provision for workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance, and the imposition of levies on sugar producers to finance welfare funds.

All the principal West Indian Governments have now estab-

lished Labour Advisory Boards. It is hoped that these bodies may help to improve relations between employers and labour. They also advise Governments on questions of wages and conditions of employment which might otherwise lead to serious industrial disputes and stoppages of work. In Barbados, the Board has been entrusted with the function of acting as a central body to co-ordinate the work of the Conciliation Boards which are being established for the various industries of the colony. Other important problems considered by the Boards include the re-absorption of labour into employment at the end of the war and the fixing of wage rates to be paid for work on the United States bases.

The development of trade unionism in the West Indies has met with difficulties peculiar to the situation there as well as with those which have confronted the movement everywhere. It was originally looked upon with suspicion by employers, the more so because of the paternalistic tradition which had persisted from the days of slavery and indentured labour. For the very reason that trade unions already existed on the American continent and in Europe to provide an example, the West Indies could try to imitate them without going through the experiences that originally produced the movement. Whereas the original unions in England were led by men who had themselves worked at the trade in question, were thoroughly familiar with conditions and were thus in a position to put forward specific practical proposals, the leaders of colonial trade unions, in the West Indies and elsewhere, have usually been men from outside who owe their leadership to the fact that they have had a better education than their followers. For these men a sense of injustice in general is apt to take the place of a knowledge of the particular circumstances that call for improvement. Consequently there has been a tendency for colonial trade unionism to be directed towards political aspirations rather than practical improvements directly affecting the conditions of employment or the standard of living of the workers. Membership increases rapidly at periods of tension when there is a prospect of a strike or a demand for higher wages—the most common object of a strike—and dwindles again as soon as the crisis is over.

Minimum wage legislation has been introduced into several of the West Indian colonies, and is under consideration in the re-

mainder. In Jamaica a Minimum Wage Officer has been engaged since 1940 in drafting regulations for the constitution of wages boards where necessary, and in making inquiries into wage conditions in certain occupations and industries with a view to ascertaining where the application of the wage board system may be desirable. Jamaica and Trinidad have instituted cost-of-living inquiries; in Jamaica, employers in a number of retail and wholesale establishments have granted increases in wages of from 2s. 6d. to 20s. per week to shop assistants and clerks. Efforts have been made to prevent large fluctuations in the cost of living during the war by the fixing of statutory prices and in some cases by means of stabilization with the help of subsidies.

No special legislation has been provided to settle industrial disputes, the great majority of which have arisen over the question of wage rates, but the newly formed Labour Departments have proved of value in dealing with this problem. Since the outbreak of war there have been no widespread stoppages of work due to strikes or lock-outs. Collective bargaining is being increasingly adopted, and has sometimes been followed by resort to arbitration. The first Arbitration Board ever set up in any colony was that appointed in December 1938 in connection with a dispute in the Trinidad oil industry. It has sometimes been difficult to find a local arbitrator whose services were equally acceptable to employers and workers. Recently this difficulty has been overcome in several cases by the appointment of the Labour Adviser as arbitrator.

Only in Jamaica and Trinidad are there any appreciable number of factories. In both colonies full-time factory inspectors are now employed. In Jamaica a Factory Law of 1940 made the registration of factories compulsory. Some four hundred factories have been inspected, and the recommendations made regarding safety and health measures have been adopted by many employers. In Trinidad steps are being taken to implement the recommendations of a Committee which inquired into the whole question of factory and workshop control and suggested that existing legislation be replaced by a comprehensive Workshops and Factory Ordinance.

Workmen's Compensation Laws have been enacted in most of the West Indian Colonies. Consideration is being given to the possibility of extending such legislation to agricultural workers,

but the situation is complicated by the existence of numerous small employers cultivating their own holdings with a little seasonal help.

Recruiting is a question which arises only in connection with men leaving the islands for work elsewhere. An agreement concluded in 1940 between the Governors of Jamaica and the Panama Canal provided for the control of recruiting of labour for the canal zone.

An important step towards the formation of a common labour policy for the whole of the West Indies was the holding of a four-day Conference of Labour Officers in Trinidad in April 1942. Most of the principal Labour staffs of the islands were present and a useful interchange of ideas and experiences took place.

In conclusion may be quoted some words of Mr Norman, Labour Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies: "Labour legislation alone is not a sufficient remedy for the evils which are found to exist among the working people of the British West Indies. A comparatively high standard of labour legislation may exist at the same time as a low level of economic and other social conditions among the workers. It is necessary to have good labour staffs for local administration and an enlightened public opinion to see that labour problems are pressed forward to a satisfactory conclusion."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE PACIFIC ISLAND COLONIES

The labour situation in the Pacific Island Colonies varies considerably. In Tonga wage-labour is of no great importance, as there are no large plantations or industries. In Fiji, the New Hebrides and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the labour employed is both local and imported. In the Solomons labour is obtained from within the group, but since most of the plantations are concentrated on a few sparsely populated islands, the labour force has still to be brought overseas for distances of three or four hundred miles.

In Fiji, Indian indentured labour was employed on the sugar estates until 1917. After the termination of the indenture system, most of the Indian immigrants preferred to take up land from the Fijians rather than continue to work for wages, and a new shor-

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies.* Col. 184, H.M.S.O., 1943.

tage of labour resulted. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company met the situation by parcelling out estates in lease to Indian workers, who thus became cane farmers producing their own crops. The labourers employed by the mines, the Government and the refining mills, which account for possibly 75 per cent of the regular wage-earners, work a forty-eight hour week. In the copra industry work is usually by task, and the task is defined by law as what can be performed by an ordinary able-bodied Fijian in six hours of diligent work. When work is by time a nine-hour day and a fifty-hour week are laid down as maxima.

Before they were involved in the war a contract system, subject to penal sanctions, was in vogue for the Solomons, the maximum term by law being two years. Licensed recruiters were employed. Minimum scales of food, clothing and housing were required by the Government, as well as medical attention and repatriation at the end of service. Hours of work were regulated, but work was normally done on a task basis at five and a half tasks per week. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands the policy in regard to labour for the phosphate industry was to encourage the recruiting of married men with their families. They were recruited for eighteen months' service, and one-third of them were accompanied by their families.

In the Solomon Islands the need to earn money for taxes was still in 1942 the strongest motive inducing young men to seek wage-labour. Coconut growing is the only alternative source of cash, and this is not possible for the peoples of the interior of the larger islands. In these regions, since the older men will not leave their families, nearly every youth has to earn some one else's tax money as well as his own. Elsewhere the incentive of a cash income has begun to operate. This area is the only one of the regions under discussion which has not yet been visited by the Labour Adviser. Fiji is the only island to have a Labour Department.

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#### IV. HEALTH

There is no need to emphasize the important part that must be played by the improvement of health conditions in any policy that aims at an all-round increase of welfare. In the tropics, where parasitic diseases are so much more widespread than they are in Europe, and whole populations may suffer from their debilitating effects, the importance of medical work is particularly great. The apathy, laziness and want of initiative that are often ascribed to colonial peoples are much more likely to be due—where the charge is justified—to their physical condition than to any quality inherent in their character.

As the emphasis shifts from the curative to the preventive aspect of medicine, it becomes clear that the attack on such a state of affairs calls for the co-operation of all experts at work in the colonial field. Besides the great public services such as provision of good water supplies, it involves the improvement of the customary diet, with special care for the health of mothers and children; with the corollary of a great expansion of girls' education and of facilities for the education of adults, particularly women, in the principles of public health. The contribution of the teacher to this programme is obvious. The agricultural and veterinary officers have their part to play in encouraging the peasant to grow varied food crops and improve his stock, the forestry expert in the protection of the forests on which water storage and soil

fertility depend, the labour officer in securing suitable rations and housing conditions at employment centres. The improvement of health, in fact, must be part of a co-operative effort for the improvement of general well-being.

To this end it is important for the medical services in each territory to co-operate in planned welfare schemes involving every department concerned, while at the same time policy should be co-ordinated over a wider field by contact between the health services of different territories. Some colonies have already set up inter-departmental welfare committees,<sup>1</sup> and periodical regional conferences of senior officers of medical departments are held in East Africa and West Africa.

### 1. THE ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH SERVICES

Three groups of bodies are concerned in the improvement of health conditions in the colonial Empire; the first group have their headquarters in Britain, the second are international and the third are situated within the colonies.

#### BRITISH ORGANIZATIONS

At the Colonial Office a Chief Medical Adviser and two Assistant Medical Advisers are attached to the staff of the Secretary of State. A Colonial Medical Advisory Committee keeps in close touch with the services in individual colonies by examining the annual reports of medical departments, by interviewing medical officers home on leave and in other ways, and makes recommendations on medical policy to the Secretary of State. Special advisory committees on particular problems are set up from time to time; examples are the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire appointed in 1936, and the Committee on Venereal Diseases set up in 1943.

The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, a school of London University, is a training ground for colonial workers and a centre of research in entomology, protozoology, helminthology, bacteriology and public health. There is also a section, formerly the Ross Institute, for the study of practical measures for the control of tropical diseases. Accommodated in the same building as the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine is the Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical Diseases,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 98, 110.

partly maintained from Imperial funds and from funds provided by various Dominion and Colonial Governments, and under the general control and direction of an Honorary Managing Committee appointed by and responsible to the Secretary of State. The Bureau has as its principal function the collection from all sources of information on hygiene and tropical diseases and its dissemination to workers in colonial areas and, indeed, to medical men working in public health and tropical medicine throughout the world. It publishes two monthly periodicals, and during the war has undertaken the production of a monthly Bulletin of War Medicine. The Secretary of State has appointed a committee to investigate the establishment of a new Tropical Diseases Hospital and Centre in London to take the place of the old Hospital destroyed by enemy action. An important part of the new scheme is the provision of a centre where students coming from the colonies will be able to obtain training and clinical experience under the best possible conditions.

The Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine is an important headquarters of training and research, especially in relation to the West African colonies. Up to 1941 it maintained the Sir Alfred Jones Laboratory at Freetown, with some contributions from local Governments; in that year the laboratory was closed for the duration of the war.

The Wellcome Research Institution has conducted much research on yellow fever vaccination, and on the chemistry of tropical medicine.

The Medical Research Council, which has its headquarters in London and is maintained by the British Government, has carried out much valuable research into tropical diseases and questions affecting nutrition in the colonies. The Royal Society has from time to time financed from its medical research fund investigations of tropical diseases. These include expeditions to study kala azar, filariasis and malaria in the field, and a comprehensively planned scheme of research on malaria.

#### INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The Health Section of the League of Nations, created in 1923, carried out work of value to colonial territories on malaria, sleeping sickness, leprosy, hookworm disease, the organization of public health services, standardization of vaccines, etc. It was

also instrumental in the establishment of the Epidemic Intelligence Bureau at Singapore, which, until the outbreak of war, transmitted to tropical countries a weekly summary in code of telegraphic reports regarding epidemic diseases.

The International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation has rendered great service to the cause of medicine throughout the tropics. Among many schemes in the British Colonies financed and executed by the Foundation may be mentioned hookworm campaigns in Malaya, Fiji and the Pacific Islands, work on yellow fever in Nigeria and Uganda, anti-yaws, anti-malarial and anti-venereal work in the West Indies, and the support given to the Medical School in Singapore, to the Central Medical School in Fiji and to the establishment of a Health School in Jamaica.

#### HEALTH SERVICES WITHIN THE COLONIES

Every colonial dependency of any size maintains its own medical department. In Africa, Malaya and the Pacific the majority of the senior staff are members of the Colonial Medical Service, which was created as a unified service in 1934. In the West Indies and Ceylon these posts are usually filled by local candidates. The various colonial medical departments normally employ 700 European medical officers, 25 of whom are women, 790 trained nursing sisters and health visitors, and, in addition, large numbers of subordinate personnel—sanitary inspectors, medical assistants, nurses and dressers. In addition to their day-to-day work in preventive and curative medicine, the members of the Colonial Medical Service have undertaken much original research. But valuable as is the work which they have done and are doing, the inadequacy of their numbers to meet the needs of populations totalling over 60 million becomes evident when they are compared with the 40,000 doctors who in Great Britain serve 46 million people.

It is the declared aim of British policy to throw open posts in the colonial services to qualified members of the local populations, and also to provide the education which will enable them to qualify. In most colonies medical training was one of the earliest forms of vocational education to be given, and the standards attained by colonial medical schools are constantly rising. The first of these schools to be opened was the Ceylon Medical

College at Colombo, which was founded in 1870 and is now part of the University of Ceylon. Since 1887 its degree has been recognized by the General Medical Council as a colonial qualification. In Malaya the King Edward VII College of Medicine in Singapore was founded in 1905, and in 1916 its degrees were recognized as entitling graduates to practise anywhere in the British Empire. The medical faculty is the oldest part of the University of Hong Kong.

The medical schools in Africa and the Pacific have not yet attained to this standard, but they give diplomas which entitle their graduates to practise locally. Of these the oldest is the Central Medical School at Suva in Fiji, which was founded in 1884, and in 1928, with the assistance of a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and contributions from the other Western Pacific Administrations, was expanded so as to train students from all parts of the Pacific. East Africa is served by the Mulago Medical School, which was built at Kampala in 1928 and is now incorporated in the Makerere Higher College. In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the Kitchener Memorial Medical School, opened in 1924, is now associated with Gordon College. In West Africa it was till recently the practice to give scholarships for medical studies at British Universities, and a considerable number of West Africans have graduated in this country. In 1930, however, a medical school was opened at Yaba, near Lagos. It is intended that the standard of all these African schools should be raised as quickly as possible to a level where their graduates can qualify for general recognition by the British Medical Council.

But the expansion of health services cannot wait until the colonies have produced fully qualified medical officers, or even doctors with local qualifications, in numbers comparable with those practising in Britain. There are prospects of a more rapid advance in the training of a grade of persons intermediate between doctors and nurses, who may be called "medical aids." Some training of this kind is given in most colonies. Its scope varies from place to place, but in general they have a basic training either as nurses or dispensers, are taught to diagnose and treat the diseases common where they are working, give injections, and take specimens for laboratory examinations, and are given an elementary knowledge of pharmacy, the extraction of teeth and first aid. Schools for the training of these medical aids exist

in all British African territories except the Gambia, which sends students to Sierra Leone, and Northern Rhodesia, which is contemplating a joint school with Nyasaland. A grant of £10,208 has been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the extension of such training in Basutoland.<sup>1</sup>

In Malaya the "special grade dressers," who were mainly Indians or Chinese, had a rather more advanced training than that of the African "medical aids," and so do the "apothecaries" in Ceylon. In the Pacific dependencies the native medical staff are graduates of the Suva Medical School.

In most colonies both men and women are trained as nurses, generally by being attached to hospitals. There are not yet many special training schools with organized courses. In Uganda, where the Church Missionary Society led the way in the training of African girls for medical work, there are now three schools for training nurses, at Mengo Hospital under the C.M.S., at Nsamba under the Mill Hill Roman Catholic Mission, and at the Government Hospital at Mulago. The students take a Government qualifying examination. In Kenya plans for the building of a training school for nurses at Nairobi had to be postponed on account of the war. There are schools for the training of midwives in all British African territories. In Nigeria and Sierra Leone experiments have been made with combined courses to train girls as "dresser-midwives" to take charge of dispensaries. In the latter colony this work is being organized in one district by an African doctor.

In Malaya nurses were trained by European Sister Tutors in the larger centres, and attained a fairly high standard. Some took special courses in maternal and child welfare. Midwives were trained at the principal hospitals. In addition some simple instruction was given to the village midwives who were in practice before this training was introduced.

Ceylon has a training school which gives post-graduate training for Ceylonese sisters as well as the usual courses for pupil nurses. Midwives have an 18 months training including six months with a health unit.

The Central Nursing School at Suva, which had 90 pupils in 1943, has since 1940 been open to girls from all over the Western

<sup>1</sup> Kauntze, W. H., "Some Observations on Medical Training in British Tropical Africa," *Overseas Education*, January, 1943.

Pacific. There is also a school which trains girls recruited from the European population of Fiji.

In the West Indies nurses are trained at all the principal hospitals. Grants have been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the appointment in British Guiana and Jamaica of Sister Tutors experienced in the training methods now followed in Great Britain, with a view to improving the standard of training given. The London County Council has offered to accept 18 selected girls each year for four years for training in their hospitals.

There are training schools for sanitary inspectors in the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika. A joint school for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is under consideration. Schools for pharmacists exist in Uganda, Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

In the West Indies the Moyne Commission reported that the training of all classes of medical personnel in the prevention of disease was inadequate. A grant of £15,100 has been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the establishment of a large permanent training school for health personnel in Jamaica, towards which the Jamaican Government and the Rockefeller Foundation are also contributing. In its initial stages it will give courses in public health nursing, laboratory technique, and the duties of sanitary inspectors. Eventually it is intended to become a School of Hygiene for research and teaching in preventive medicine, such as was recommended by the Moyne Commission. A grant of £1,290 has been made for training courses for Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors, to be held in British Guiana, and be open to students from the Leeward Islands.

All medical departments carry out research in addition to the treatment of disease and the promotion of public health, but not all colonies have special research institutes. There are, however, two colonial research institutes which deserve mention on account of the position which they have attained in the scientific world—the Institute of Medical Research at Kuala Lumpur in Malaya, and the Yellow Fever Research Institute at Entebbe in Uganda.

The work of medical missions, organized by nearly every branch of the Christian Church, has contributed greatly to the improvement of health within the colonies. In many cases the

missionaries were the first to enter the field, and by their courage, energy, skill and resource, they have set a high standard for all medical workers in the colonies. Co-operation between the medical missions and the Government medical departments is usually very good. The Government medical officers inspect and give every possible assistance to mission hospitals within their district, and reciprocal visits are welcomed. Grants are made by many territories towards the medical work of missions. As an example of the hospitals run and staffed by missions may be mentioned the C.M.S. Mengo hospital at Kampala, one of the earliest hospitals in East Africa, dating from 1896, when it was founded by Dr (now Sir) Albert Cook.

Medical services provided by mining concerns and other private firms vary considerably in scope and efficiency. In Malaya, estates were compelled by law to provide medical attendance and beds in a hospital, a wholesome water supply and sanitary labourers' quarters. The larger estates maintained excellent and well-equipped hospitals, but at some of the smaller estates the dispensaries were in charge of natives with little medical training. In Africa, the mining companies of the N. Rhodesian copper belt provide well-staffed and equipped hospitals for European and native employees and their dependents; a recent development is the establishment, with some financial assistance from the Government, of maternity and child welfare clinics in the mine townships. The medical services of the larger mining organizations are being steadily improved in Tanganyika. In West Africa, the larger mining companies all maintain hospitals and dispensaries.

Throughout the colonial empire medical treatment is available to the public on broadly the same terms as in Great Britain, that is to say, no man, woman or child in need of treatment would ever be barred from it on grounds of lack of money to pay. In many colonies treatment is provided free, though in some a small charge may be made for dressings, injections and special medicines.

## 2. THE CONTROL OF TRANSMISSIBLE DISEASES

With the increase of knowledge of the causes of specific diseases and of the conditions favourable to their spread, medical authorities have been placed in a position to organize mass campaigns against them where adequate staff and funds are available.

In the tropics vast areas have to be covered, and ignorance of hygiene, coupled with poverty, malnutrition and bad housing, create conditions in which a disease may rapidly assume epidemic proportions, unless a constant watch is kept upon the situation, or may be so constantly present as seriously to undermine the general health. There are usually three stages in the campaign against a disease. First, the incidence of the disease is determined by an examination of the inhabitants of a given area, and treatment is provided for sufferers. Second, when the causes of the disease are already known, scientific knowledge is applied to remove them as far as possible. Third, a propaganda campaign is carried out to educate people by means of lectures, films, posters, etc., into the causes of the disease and the necessary measures of prophylaxis, hygiene and sanitation which must be adopted in order to prevent infection and reinfection.

Work of this kind has been hampered both by native ignorance and prejudice and by the lack of funds and personnel sufficient to carry it out on an adequate scale. The extent to which an effective campaign can be said to have been carried out varies with different diseases. That against sleeping-sickness, for example, has given considerable results; measures for the control of malaria and hookworm disease, on the other hand, are still in the early stages in many territories.

It would be impossible in the space available to give a comprehensive account of the work being done in fifty different dependencies. All that can be done is to show by a few examples the way in which some of the principal diseases are being dealt with.

#### MALARIA

Malaria is a fever which, recurring at cyclical intervals, causes a very considerable number of deaths in early life, and later a vast amount of ill-health and debility which lowers resistance to other diseases. In most tropical countries practically all the inhabitants suffer from malaria, particularly in childhood. Until the famous discovery by Sir Ronald Ross in 1898 that malaria was caused by a parasite introduced into the blood of a human by a bite from a female mosquito, it was variously attributed to drinking bad water, breathing mists rising from swamps or inhaling bad air—hence the name “mal-aria.” After Ross’s dis-

covery, it became clear that the removal of the mosquitoes would eradicate malaria.

The first colonial area to benefit from the discovery was Malaya, where Ross's work was taken up by Sir Malcolm Watson, as well as others. In 1901, Port Swettenham, founded as a harbour for the Federated Malay States, was threatened with closure two and a half months after opening, owing to the heavy death rate from malaria. The swamps were drained and the incidence of malaria so greatly reduced by the elimination of mosquito breeding that Port Swettenham became an increasingly important centre of trade. This was the first step in a scientific anti-malarial campaign carried out by the Government in Malaya which lasted until the Japanese invasion, and without which the great development of the natural resources of the area could never have taken place. Malarial preventive measures were adopted in all important towns and gradually extended to some rural areas. Sir Malcolm Watson carried out researches to discover what conditions were favourable to the breeding of the malaria-carrying mosquitoes and evolved plans to eliminate these conditions, which were put into force according to the type of mosquito prevailing in the area. This method is called "species sánitation." Measures adopted may be either temporary or permanent; the most important temporary measure is the oiling of streams, ponds, drains, etc., every six to ten days. Other measures include the application of paris green (a preparation of arsenic) in places where oiling is not advisable, flushing of hill streams and ravines at fixed intervals by automatic sluices, clearing and clean weeding of drains and the stocking of ponds and reservoirs with larva-eating fish. Of permanent measures drainage is the most important. Another method is the filling up of pits and pools. Cultivation, when kept up, has been found one of the strongest deterrents to malaria, as breeding places are diminished when land is planted and drained.

From 1911, a Malaria Advisory Board acted as a planning and co-ordinating centre for all anti-malarial work in Malaya. Mosquito Destruction Boards were established to organize local anti-malarial work and to carry out the plans of the Advisory Board in towns and rural areas. Under the Labour Code, employers were made legally responsible for carrying out anti-malarial measures on their estates at their own expense. On the

curative side, treatment for sufferers from malaria was provided by hospitals, and there was free distribution of quinine tablets—sometimes as many as 2,000,000 a year—through schools, police stations and village headmen. As a result of the intensive campaign the incidence of malaria was considerably reduced in Malaya, and many areas were rendered virtually free from it. By 1935 the Straits Settlements Government was able to report that "in the principal towns and on large estates protection against malaria is as complete as human effort can make it."<sup>1</sup> Much remained to be done, however, on the small estates and in the Malay kampongs.

The comment of an American observer, writing in 1941 on the health services of Malaya, is perhaps worthy of note in this connection. He says: "The Malay Peninsula is to-day one of the healthiest parts of the tropics; but this has been brought about only by lavish expenditure and unremitting effort. It is an outstanding example of the transformation which can be effected when there is ample revenue and willingness to spend it generously. Naturally, the Peninsula is one of the most unhealthy parts of the tropics, and sixty years ago the mortality among both Asiatics and Europeans was very heavy."<sup>2</sup>

The anti-malarial measures found so successful in Malaya have been applied elsewhere in the colonial empire, though to a smaller extent in the less wealthy colonies. In both East and West Africa drainage measures are carried out in all important towns, at aerodromes and harbour areas, but the difficulties are very great. In some territories quinine tablets are distributed free to natives at post offices, as well as at dispensaries. In 1940 Professor B. Blacklock and Dr Carmichael Wilson were sent to Sierra Leone to report on permanent anti-mosquito measures, and Dr Muirhead Thomson was more recently commissioned to make a study of the habits of the prevailing mosquito of West Africa. Valuable work in mosquito control had been accomplished in East Africa before the outbreak of the present war, particularly in Zanzibar and at Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam. The tremendous problem of mosquito control in rural areas of Africa, where every puddle in a road or wet hoof-mark, even the water that

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the Straits Settlements, 1935*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Mills, L., *British Rule in Eastern Asia*, p. 297.

collects after rain in the forks of branches or the holes that form in coconut palms, may be a breeding ground for the most efficient malaria-carrying mosquito in the world, still remains to be tackled.

Funds allocated up to February 1944 for anti-malarial control measures under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act totalled £72,635 for the West Indies, £22,900 for Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, £65,000 for Fiji and £2,850 for Mauritius. A grant of £12,000 was made for a malaria survey in Swaziland, and another of £4,400 for research on the habits of the mosquito which carries malaria in West Africa. The Colonial Research Committee has recommended that funds should be made available for the establishment of a Cinchona Research Institute in East Africa to investigate the possibilities of producing locally the cinchona plant, from the bark of which quinine is made. At present the greater part of the world's supply of cinchona comes from Java, and very serious difficulties were created by the loss of this source owing to the Japanese occupation.

#### YAWS

This disfiguring disease which, though not a venereal disease, has many of the characteristics of syphilis, is prevalent in many parts of the colonial empire and often afflicts young children. As a result of mass campaigns, the incidence of yaws has been greatly reduced in Malaya, Fiji, Jamaica and East and West Africa. In 1943 a grant of £7,680 was made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for a campaign in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Yaws can be cured by a few injections. The spectacular results of treatment almost always win the confidence of the patient—a fact which is beneficial to medical work in general—but it is sometimes difficult to persuade him that further injections are needed to make the cure permanent after the outward signs of the disease have disappeared. In West Africa the sleeping sickness units now also treat for yaws. It still remains a great problem throughout tropical Africa and also in the Pacific Islands.

#### HOOKWORM DISEASE

Ankylostomiasis, commonly called hookworm disease, occurs in the zone between latitude 36 degrees N. and 30 degrees S., in which lies the greater part of the British colonial empire. The incidence of the disease is often very great in this area; a survey

carried out in Malaya in 1926 showed that 80 per cent of the population were infected, though only 30 per cent were harbouring enough worms to show signs of definite ill-health. Great assistance has been given by the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation to the Medical Departments of Malaya, Fiji, and the Western Pacific Islands, in the carrying out of mass campaigns against hookworm. The actual number of deaths from hookworm is small, but the patient suffers from anaemia due to loss of blood and consequent physical and mental inefficiency. The sufferer from this disease is therefore permanently below par and lacking in vitality, and his lowered resistance makes him prone to succumb to other diseases. It is comparatively easy to cure patients of hookworm, but re-infection is almost inevitable in countries where the majority of inhabitants go barefoot and almost any unoccupied spot of land is regarded as a suitable latrine. The eggs develop, in the soil, into larvae and when these come in contact with the human skin, they bore their way through, eventually reaching the intestine where the adult worms take up residence and feed upon blood sucked from the intestinal wall. The only way to ensure permanent freedom of the population from this disease is to introduce a system of "soil sanitation" on a large scale to prevent contamination of the soil with the eggs which are passed in the faeces. Propaganda in the form of lectures, demonstrations, illustrated pamphlets, posters, talks to school-children, and films must be undertaken to urge upon the rural population the necessity of providing, maintaining in good repair and utilizing properly constructed latrines. In rural Africa, Malaya and elsewhere, attempts have long been made to interest the native authorities in bored-hole latrines, which are efficient and easy to construct. Native prejudice in the matter of sanitary habits would appear to die very hard, and many stories could be told of the manner in which newly built latrines have been regarded as "showpieces," but they are at last beginning to come into more general use.

#### SLEEPING SICKNESS

The tsetse-fly, which is found over nearly one quarter of the African continent, is responsible for the transmission of disease to both man and animals. Among the most mysterious of Africa's many diseases was the 'negro lethargy' or sleeping sickness; the

symptoms of this disease are fever, headache, lassitude, and emaciation, leading to eventual death, perhaps many years after the onset of the illness. In 1901, the dreaded disease flared up in Uganda; 20,000 Africans were dead or dying. A young doctor in the R.A.M.C., David Bruce, who had already investigated in Zululand a similar disease (called "nagana") in cattle, was sent to Uganda. He discovered, by means of countless experiments, that sleeping sickness in man and nagana in cattle were caused by similar agents—minute organisms (trypanosomes) introduced into the blood stream by the bite of infected tsetse-flies. Without the tsetse-fly there would be no spread of the disease, since the trypanosomes must normally undergo a complex development in the fly's body before they can be transferred to another host. As a result of Bruce's researches, it became evident that the next stage in the battle against sleeping sickness lay in the fight against the tsetse-fly itself.

The work of David Bruce was taken up in Tanganyika by C. F. M. Swynnerton, first Game Warden and first Director of Tsetse Research in Tanganyika Territory. When Swynnerton started his work four-fifths of the Territory was under fly and therefore unusable for cattle, and a good deal of it was equally dangerous to men. As a result of a careful study of the habits and habitats of the different types of tsetse fly, he discovered that three of the five deadly types were to be found in dry woodland of loose density, but could not live permanently in dense, continuous thicket, or in the open. Realizing that the clearing of vast tracts of bush was impossible, he divided up the fly-belts by long corridors and then attempted, by various methods, to exterminate the fly in the remaining isolated blocks. The methods used included bush clearing, trapping the flies, burning blocks of grass, and either destroying or intensifying shade. Of these the easiest and most valuable in its result was the attack on the vegetation. Either the breeding places could be destroyed by fierce fires, or, alternatively, the vegetation could be allowed to become so dense that it became unfavourable to the fly. The Native Authorities fully appreciated the value of this work, and the thousands of natives required for it were always readily forthcoming. In 1929 a Tsetse Research Department, supported by grants from the Colonial Development Fund, was attached to the Medical Department of Tanganyika Territory. Swynnerton

was its first Director; he continued his work until 1938, when he was killed while flying in the course of his duties over Tanganyika. He was, in fact, on his way to Dar-es-Salaam to be decorated with the insignia of the C.M.G. by the Governor.

As a result of Swynnerton's efforts over the past twenty years, the fly has been driven out of 15,000 square miles of country. In addition, scattered populations have been moved from heavily infested areas and settled on cleared ground, where their concentrated cultivation will prevent the bush from spreading again.

In territories liable to the trypanosome diseases special staff is detailed for preventive and curative work, and large sums are spent on research each year. It has been found that the trypanosome can be destroyed by specific treatment of infected cases. A complete cure is possible if the disease is treated in its early stages. Of 55 cases of sleeping sickness reported in N. Rhodesia during 1941, only 5 cases proved fatal—a great advance from the days when sleeping sickness sufferers were doomed to a lingering death. In Nigeria, where in some areas over 11 per cent of the inhabitants are infected, an Ordinance has been enacted making treatment compulsory for all sufferers. Treatment is provided by six teams of trained workers who, upon entering a new area, make a survey of the population and give a full course of treatment to all persons found to be suffering from sleeping sickness. Hundreds of thousands of natives have been treated in British territories. Re-surveys have recently been made, and the information gained has been most encouraging, indicating that in the main sleeping sickness belt the general infection rate is only one-quarter to one-eighth of the former figure. Preventive measures against the tsetse-fly in Nigeria are organized by the Sleeping Sickness Control Branch of the Medical Department. As a result of their work, 70,000 people are being withdrawn from hamlets in the fly-infested country and re-settled in an area of approximately 140 square miles, which is being rendered as free of fly as possible. In addition to re-settlement work, the Control Branch is responsible for the supervision of two large protective clearing campaigns which, it is hoped, will result in the protection of some 200,000 people against sleeping sickness. During 1943 conferences of medical officers from adjoining territories have been held to discuss the co-ordination of methods of control

both in East and West Africa. Representatives of the French and Belgian colonies took part in the latter.

#### LEPROSY

Though leprosy exists in all tropical colonies, it is particularly prevalent in the northern part of central Africa.

In most colonies there are leper settlements where infected persons can be segregated and at the same time lead a normal life as far as possible. Often these are managed by missionary bodies with Government assistance. In the African dependencies there are altogether 35 leper settlements managed by Government and 31 by various missions. Some territories make segregation compulsory; but the majority prefer voluntary segregation on the ground that the disease is concealed where people are afraid of being forced to leave their homes.

In Malaya the three leper settlements in 1937 had 3,807 inmates, of whom about four-fifths were Chinese and most of the remainder Indians. There are two large leper hospitals in Ceylon, and one at Makogai, in Fiji, serves the Pacific dependencies.

In the West Indies there are nine institutions for lepers, which in 1942 had a total of nearly 1,200 inmates. Only two of these, in Trinidad and British Guiana, at that time had whole-time medical officers attached to them. A grant was made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for a study of leprosy problems throughout the West Indies by Dr Ernest Muir, Secretary of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, on the basis of which a common policy aiming at the introduction of modern survey and control measures has been formulated. Six Medical Officers of Health in Trinidad have been specially trained for this work.

The organization for the treatment of leprosy in the Owerri Province of Southern Nigeria is an interesting example of modern methods, as well as of the co-operation of different bodies interested in African welfare. Owerri is one of the most densely populated provinces of Nigeria, and in some districts as many as 10 per cent of the population are infected. A leprosy settlement, built and maintained at the cost of the Native Administration, was opened at Uzuakoli in 1932. Grants towards its expenses have been made by the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association. The Methodist Missionary Society is responsible for religious and social work.

The settlement concentrates on the treatment of advanced cases, destitute persons, and children. For the more able-bodied lepers a network of clinics is being spread over the Province as fast as men can be trained to staff them. In 1941 there were 29 such clinics, for which both land and the simple buildings required were provided free of charge by chiefs or sometimes by patients. In the neighbourhood of these clinics, intensive leprosy surveys are carried out, the entire population being examined for symptoms. These surveys have usually revealed a much higher incidence of the disease than would have been supposed from the numbers attending the clinics. In the areas where they have been carried out, the chiefs have been persuaded to give land on which model villages can be built for infected persons to live in. When this has been done the clinic is moved to the village, and the African in charge acts as sanitary supervisor. There were 10 such villages in 1942. Villages on this small scale have the advantage that the patients are still within reach of their farm land and can go to work on it. It is reported that there is no difficulty in persuading them to move.

#### VENEREAL DISEASES

Venereal diseases have long presented a major problem of public health among colonial peoples. Though they are particularly prevalent in large centres of population, their incidence is far from negligible in the rural areas. Among many of the colonial peoples no social stigma attaches to a person who has contracted a venereal disease, but while this has the effect that the fear of disease does not act as a deterrent to promiscuity, it also has the result that they feel no embarrassment in coming for treatment. More dangerous is the general attitude to venereal disease as something which is not serious.

Treatment is given mainly at general hospitals and dispensaries. Some colonies have special venereal disease clinics, particularly in large towns. These are under the supervision of medical men who have a good knowledge of the subject, and are usually within reach of laboratories at which specimens can be examined. Specialist medical officers have been appointed to clinics in Tanganyika, Malaya and the West Indies. Ceylon has a venereal disease hospital for women. It is expected that the clinics will become more popular now that the more effective treatment by

sulphonamide drugs has been introduced. It is reported that some East African tribes have been selling their cattle to buy these drugs.

Special anti-venereal campaigns have been arranged in Kenya, Bechuanaland and the West Indies. The last-named, in which the United States Public Health Service is co-operating, was described by the Medical Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare as "the first time in history that a really big and careful investigation of venereal disease has been undertaken over a widespread area like the whole of the Caribbean, in the tropics."

Special legislation for the control of venereal disease has been passed in many of the colonies and is under consideration in others. There are also cases where native authorities have made local rules compelling infected persons to continue courses of treatment until they are certified free from infection.

#### YELLOW FEVER

From 1933 onwards, the spread of yellow fever by aircraft had largely been controlled by the general adoption of the clauses of the International Sanitary Convention on Aerial Navigation of the *Office International d'Hygiène Publique*. In 1940, with the partial occupation of France, this body ceased to exist as an effective agency for co-ordination and control. A serious outbreak of yellow fever in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan during the winter of 1940 emphasized the need for a review of measures to prevent the spread of the disease by air routes across the world. Consequently, an Inter-Departmental Committee was set up in London to study the problem. This Committee, in its draft interim report of 1941, made specific recommendations for control of the spread of yellow fever which were adopted in all British territories. The most important of these recommendations related to the control of mosquitoes, the disinfection of aircraft, the inoculation of all travellers to areas where yellow fever was endemic, the establishment of vaccine distributing and testing centres in East and West Africa, and the co-ordination of research. In Kenya nearly £20,000 was spent on a campaign against yellow fever. Mosquito control measures were intensified in all large centres of population and along the main lines of communication. Special attention was paid to the coastal strip,

since the disease, if it became established there, might spread to other parts of Africa, the Middle East, India and the rest of Asia. An intensive inoculation campaign began in April 1941, and it was expected that the entire population of this area, numbering some 300,000, would be inoculated by the middle of 1942. It is now thought improbable that the disease could establish itself if it were introduced. Similar steps have been taken in Uganda and, under Allied occupation, at the Red Sea port of Massawa in Eritrea. Not a single case of yellow fever has been reported among Allied military personnel in East Africa.

### 3. THE PROMOTION OF GOOD HEALTH

In Britain in recent years the provision by local authorities of good sanitary arrangements, water supplies, maternity and child welfare clinics, legislation backed by health propaganda, and specific action against particularly virulent diseases, have led to an enormous reduction in the death rate and a great rise in the general level of health. The beginnings of developments along these lines are taking place in the colonies. Progress varies considerably from colony to colony, depending as it does upon local conditions, in particular the finances available, the standard of education of the community and the stage of development reached.

#### AFRICA

In the towns of Africa the problems are similar to those at home; the presence of the great number of disease-carrying parasites peculiar to the tropics, makes the need for pure water supplies and good sanitation especially urgent. In the rural areas, with their sparse populations scattered over immense distances and poor communications, the problems are rather different. Sanitary measures have to be of the simple kind that every village can provide from its own resources, and for them to be effective the need for them must be understood by every citizen; hence the great importance of public health propaganda. Then there is the question how to extend the range of medical treatment beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the fully equipped hospitals which, with few exceptions, are confined to towns and labour centres. The answer to this has been found in the rural dispensary in charge of a "medical aid" with qualifications of the

type described above.<sup>1</sup> How widely these can be extended depends on the number of trained Africans available; and the range of their effectiveness depends on the state of communications in the colony concerned.

From this point of view Uganda, with its excellent road system, its public transport well patronized by Africans, and its long tradition of medical training, dating from the early days of the Church Missionary Society's work, is particularly fortunate. A scheme announced in 1939 aimed at bringing facilities for medical attention within five miles of the majority of the population of the Protectorate by a system of aid posts attached to central dispensaries, from which they would be visited weekly.

In Nigeria and Tanganyika, where the Native Administration system is particularly well developed, the interest of the people has been enlisted by making the native authorities responsible for rural dispensaries. In 1938 there were 337 Native Administration dispensaries in Nigeria and 285 in Tanganyika. The Ngoni in North Eastern Rhodesia have a tribal dispensary at the same centre as their tribal school.<sup>2</sup>

Public health propaganda is proposed as an aspect of the mass education campaigns recently projected. It is already part of the community work of Jeanes teachers and of the Jeanes courses attended by chiefs,<sup>3</sup> and is among the duties of the medical aids in charge of dispensaries. In Nigeria there has been such a demand for health demonstrations that in 1939 a special health propaganda unit was created. This not only makes films and arranges demonstrations of various kinds but encourages the establishment of local "health units" in communities which have shown an active interest in the improvement of health conditions. Six such units, in which native administration officials, school teachers and leading non-official Africans, both men and women, co-operate with the local administrative, medical, educational and agricultural officers, had been established by 1939.

Attendance at maternity hospitals and child welfare clinics is steadily increasing.<sup>1</sup> The extension of clinics into rural areas must depend upon the number of educated girls available to staff them, and, except in the West African colonies, this is still

<sup>1</sup> See p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 34.

very small. Nevertheless great efforts have been made recently throughout East and Central Africa to develop maternity and child welfare services. Information about them is spread through the Jeanes training centres. The danger of frightening women away by an unsympathetic attitude towards ideas which might be regarded as superstitious are beginning to be recognized. In Nyasaland, in order to overcome the suspicions of the tribal midwives, they are allowed to be present at confinements in the Government African Hospital; it is hoped that this may have the additional advantage of giving them some idea of European methods.

#### MALAYA

Malaya was one of the first colonial areas to organize health units to meet the needs of the rural population. In 1926, after the hookworm campaign, the Government divided rural areas into district health units, each staffed by an Asiatic health officer, a dresser and a nurse, who continued the hookworm treatment as well as undertaking infant and maternal welfare work. Special efforts were made to persuade the villagers to build latrines—the Health Branch designed a model that was inexpensive and yet durable. Four travelling motor dispensaries helped to carry on the work. Midwives were attached to all Government hospitals in towns and to many of the district hospitals, and to clinics and infant welfare centres. By 1937 there were in Malaya some 50 infant welfare centres; each centre had a motor bus with a fixed itinerary of visits to the outlying districts to bring in the poorer patients. The centres provided ante-natal care and care of the infant—the aim being to show mothers how to look after their children properly. Gradually the initial fears and prejudices of the mothers were overcome and the work became extremely popular. District visiting, vaccinations, baby shows, and sometimes dental treatment all formed part of the routine work of the centres. The infant mortality rate was reduced in the Federated Malay States from 218 per thousand births in 1917 to 147 per thousand in 1937, and in the Straits Settlements from 267 per thousand to 155 per thousand. A start had also been made with school medical work before the Japanese invasion.

The larger towns in Malaya had a piped supply of water with a high standard of purity. During the past decade the supply of drinking water for the villages was taken in hand, though many

were still dependent upon wells of doubtful purity and springs among the foothills. A large number of deep wells were provided, a few villages had a supply of piped or chlorinated river water, while those close to Singapore and Penang were supplied with piped water by the municipalities. It was often found difficult to impress upon villagers the necessity of refraining from polluting the wells, and there was still a need for more covers and pumps essential to safety. Many of the larger estates had a purified pipeline supply which, together with the water-flushed latrines, had been instrumental in practically eradicating hookworm and dysentery on the estates.

#### THE WEST INDIES

In general, public health services were in a backward state at the time of the Moyne Commission. Midwifery services were in existence in many of the colonies, but these were primitive and there was a lack of qualified supervision; infant welfare services were largely in the hands of voluntary organizations. The level of sanitation was, on the whole, low. In the larger colonies, where qualified Medical Officers of Health were employed, definite progress had been made with sanitation, but in the smaller ones, although regulations were in existence, the sanitary inspectors, owing to lack of training, were unable either to enforce regulations or to educate the public.

Since the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940, and the arrival in the West Indies of Sir Frank Stockdale and his medical adviser, Sir Rupert Briercliffe, the public health problems of the West Indies have begun to be tackled on a large scale. Already public health schemes involving a total expenditure of over £250,000 have been approved or are under consideration, while an additional £68,500 has been approved for water supplies alone. Special attention has been paid to the promotion of good health among women and children by developing maternity and child welfare schemes, school medical care and health education, while the needs of rural communities have been kept especially in view because they form the great bulk of the population of the West Indies. Each of the main West Indian colonies is to have a demonstration health centre which will serve as a model for the other districts in the colony. The Health Unit has been defined as follows:

"An organization which provides a small community with health services similar to those given by a well-developed urban health department, but on a much simpler and less costly scale.

"A Medical Officer of Health is in charge of the Unit and has a staff of Sanitary Inspectors, Health Visitors, Nurses and Midwives. The work of the unit is carried on from Health Centres. At the main centre, where the Medical Officer of Health has his office, clinics are held for maternal care, child welfare, treatment of school children and venereal diseases, and of tuberculosis, yaws, and leprosy, if prevalent in the area. There is usually a meeting room for talks and demonstrations, and the sanitary engineering workshop should be on or near the premises. The branch centres with nurses or midwives living near them are smaller than the main centre and their activities are simpler. The work carried on outside the Health Centre buildings includes supervision of midwives, home visiting in connection with infant care, domestic hygiene, dietetics and other matters of health education, school hygiene, the control of infectious diseases, the domiciliary care of tuberculosis, sanitary inspections and malaria control . . . An essential part of the Unit's work is to arouse health consciousness in the local people in order to obtain their active co-operation in improving the living conditions in their villages and homes."

An important aspect of rural health schemes is the improvement of domestic sanitation by demonstration and education. Provision has been made for the appointment for a limited period of experienced sanitary superintendents from Britain who will introduce correct sanitary organization and procedure and will give small-scale demonstrations of the projects prepared. The provision of water supplies is an outstanding need for many of the smaller West Indian islands. For all these islands, schemes have been prepared to construct artificial catchments and storage reservoirs which will result in an extension of rural water supplies. The threefold programme has been adopted for Jamaica: (i) to provide regional pipe-borne supplies for districts with a sufficient density of population, (ii) elsewhere to develop small local supplies, including rain-water tanks with artificial catchments, (iii) to improve and extend parochial pipe-borne supplies. When the necessary data are available a long-term programme of water supply for Jamaica and other areas is envisaged.

## FIJI AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC ISLANDS

In Fiji and the Pacific Island Colonies one of the chief problems of Government medical work has been the scattered nature of the individual islands, making it impossible to have a resident medical officer in each. To some extent this problem has been met by the training of native medical practitioners, dispensers, and nurses, a measure which has had the additional advantage of helping to reduce local native prejudice against European medicine. These men from the islands are trained at the Central Medical School, Suva, Fiji, and it is agreed that, as far as possible, they will return to their native villages to practise when their training is finished. Ante-natal and infant welfare clinics have been established in Fiji and Tonga, and a beginning of such work has been made in the Solomons. A notable feature of public health work in Tonga is the provision in every village of a number of fly-proof latrines and of concrete water cisterns, as a result of which the incidence of hookworm and dysentery has been very greatly reduced. Very successful mothercraft work is being done in the Fijian native villages. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands there are simple hospitals in charge of native medical dressers on almost every island.

## 4. NUTRITION

The attention of Governments throughout the world was called to the importance of nutrition by a debate in the League of Nations Assembly of 1935, introduced by Mr S. M. Bruce, representing Australia. In 1936 the then Secretary of State urged all colonial Governments to submit reports on the standard of nutrition in their territories, and these reports were studied by a committee of experts appointed for the purpose, which published its report and recommendations in 1939.

They stressed the very great importance to the colonial empire of improving the standard of nutrition in view of the far-reaching effects of malnutrition to be observed at present. These included not only the specific diseases that are known to be due to deficiencies in diet, such as beri-beri and pellagra, and others that are widespread enough to have local names though they have not yet been identified by doctors, but also "deficiency states which while not resulting in manifest disease prevent the full enjoyment of health." In these conditions there is a general lack of energy, and inability to work efficiently, resistance to infec-

tion is lowered, and other diseases such as ulcers, leprosy, tuberculosis, hookworm disease and malaria are aggravated. Malnutrition is an important cause of maternal mortality, and wrong feeding is one of the principal reasons of the very high infant death rate, which in many parts of the colonial empire is as high as 200 per thousand, and sometimes even above 300.

The causes of this state of affairs are various. The natural environment of many colonial peoples is lacking in adequate supplies of some essential components of a satisfactory diet, particularly vitamins and mineral salts, and some localities have a permanent shortage of water. Nearly all depend for their main food supply on a single crop; and this means, not only that their diet is not adequately balanced, but that at the time of year when one harvest is exhausted and the next has not yet ripened there is always a more or less serious shortage. Almost no milk is consumed, and very little animal products. Sometimes prejudice or indifference prevents the use of foodstuffs that are available. In many tribes taboos prevent women from eating eggs; sometimes they are also debarred from particular meats such as chicken or mutton. Adults often look down on fruit and consider it suitable only for children. Both on sea-coasts and in the neighbourhood of lakes valuable supplies of fish are sometimes neglected. Among urban populations wages are rarely high enough to provide a satisfactory diet, and in addition these populations have often developed a taste for European foods that lack full nutritive value. In certain areas, such as the West Indies and some of the industrial centres in Africa, the breakdown of stable family relations, and with it the weakening of the sense of parental responsibility, is the direct cause of serious malnutrition among children.

The problem of nutrition is *par excellence* one which can be solved only by close co-operation between all departments concerned with any aspect of welfare. As the committee pointed out, the basic problem is economic; the general standard of living is too low to provide the minimum essential for satisfactory nutrition. This in itself involves the whole broad question of economic policy and the administrative, technical and educational means of carrying it out. Then, ignorance and prejudice must be overcome, both in order to increase the productivity of the land and to popularize an improved diet; here again medical, agricultural and educational departments come into play. The removal of

diseases, such as parasitic infestations, which make it difficult for the individual to benefit from the food which he eats, again calls for both curative and preventive medicine, and for the economic and educational measures that go hand in hand with the latter.

The committee emphasized the importance of an agricultural policy which placed nutritional needs first. Agricultural authorities should decide how to meet the deficiencies reported by health authorities. As many people as possible should grow at least a part of their own food. Where wage labourers are in more or less permanent employment, as in the West Indies, East Africa and Malaya, they should normally have land for this purpose and might even be required to make full use of it, and possibly required to maintain animals and produce meat or milk products. It might even be laid down by law that estates should set aside a certain proportion of their land for food production.

The storage of foodstuffs should be improved as a precaution against shortage, and native methods examined so as to see how the loss or deterioration that they often cause can be remedied. The use of canned foods was advocated as a means both of preserving local products—as is done to some extent in Malaya and the West Indies—and of adding imported commodities to the diet. It was pointed out that where the fresh milk available is of poor quality and liable to adulteration or contamination, tinned or dried milk is preferable. But the cost of tinned foods will probably prevent their playing a great part in colonial diets for a long time to come. Since the report was issued great advances have been made in the technique of dehydration, which may make a valuable contribution to the improvement of colonial food supplies.

Attention was drawn to the importance of internal trade in foodstuffs. In Nigeria the annual internal trade in forest products—nuts, etc.—is estimated at £3 million a year, and that in livestock is not much less. Internal trade in meat is important also in East Africa and the Gold Coast, and in fish in many parts of Africa. Such trade is of great value in enabling deficiencies in local food supplies to be supplemented, and should be encouraged by the provision of communications and of storage facilities. As regards external trade, tariffs on nutritive foodstuffs should be lowered.

Particular care should be given to the diet of wage labourers,

not only for its direct effect on their health and efficiency, but also as a means of accustoming them to improved standards.

Both school-children and adults must be taught the principles of nutrition, and here, as in the case of other health questions, the education of women is of particular importance. School gardens and domestic science courses should be extended, and special attention should be given to cooking from the point of view of its effect on the nutritive value of the food. The provision of school meals, already made in Ceylon, some of the West Indies and Zanzibar, should be more widely adopted. Ante-natal and infant welfare clinics should be developed, and should stress the importance of maternal nutrition and infant feeding.

Finally, the committee pointed out the inadequacy of the information at present available, and suggested that surveys of the diets of both rural and urban peoples should be made on a concerted plan for as many regions as possible. Where the preliminary work had already been done, studies could be extended to cover such questions as the relation between diet and disease and the relation between diet and income. By-products of such studies would probably be valuable information on population trends and on the effects of labour migration on the centres depleted of their man-power. The Colonial Development Fund earmarked a sum of £24,000 for this purpose.

Developments on these lines have been to a large extent interrupted by the war, which has caused a severe drain of personnel as well as creating an immense number of new problems for all colonial administrations. Nevertheless interesting beginnings have been made. Some of these have their origin in the preliminary reports on which the report of the nutrition committee was based, others in measures to meet war conditions.

By 1940 most of the African colonies, most of the West Indies, and Fiji had either nutrition committees or general development committees which included nutrition in their terms of reference. Nutrition committees had been set up in Malaya in 1936 and Hong Kong in 1937, and were known to be active up to the time of the Japanese occupation. In many other cases information is lacking as to developments since 1940.

In Ceylon the Medical Department has had a Nutrition Division since 1933 under the Director of the Pasteur Institute. Research teams make surveys in schools of health conditions in

relation to diet; these are taken as indications of the trend in the population at large. In war conditions the most important subject of study has been the effect of the reduction in supplies of rice.

In Nyasaland a study of conditions of nutrition was made in 1938-39 by a team consisting of a medical, an agricultural, and an anthropological expert and a specialist on diet, with the assistance, where necessary, of forestry and veterinary experts. In association with this a survey of the fisheries of Lake Nyasa was made in 1939. Plans were made for continued work on the lines laid down by the nutrition survey by a unit consisting of medical, agricultural and administrative officers and a woman nutrition expert, and it was hoped that subsidiary centres would grow up as the work developed. These plans were interrupted by the war, but a good deal of work has nevertheless been done by the individual members of the unit.

In Tanganyika a woman food investigator, appointed in 1941, advises on diet in hospitals, schools and labour centres. The Gambia has organized shows of dry season produce in order to popularize types of vegetables obtainable at what is normally a time of shortage.

In Kenya a severe shortage of maize, the staple native food, occurred early in 1943 in the thickly populated Kikuyu district of Kiambu, near Nairobi. European vegetables, grown by the Kikuyu for sale, were available in large quantities, and the Medical Department organized demonstrations by African women who showed how they could be made into stews with beef—which was also plentiful—in the ordinary native cooking pot over a fire in the ground. The stews were most popular with all sections of the population, including the oldest and most conservative. Later a mobile demonstration unit was organized.

In Mauritius, which was cut off from normal supplies of rice, three mobile demonstration units have been at work under the control of the Education and Information Departments. In them cooks belonging to different communities show how new food-stuffs can be used to replace the kind of dishes to which the various groups are accustomed. In addition a local resident, a biochemist, has been appointed Nutrition Officer, and is studying the nutritive value of the local foodstuffs, as well as advising on labour rations and watching the effect of rationing on the population generally.

The nutrition committee pointed out that a valuable addition could be made to all colonial diets by the increased use of fish. Considerable research work has been done on the fishing resources of different areas. In East Africa investigations have been made of Lakes Victoria, Nyasa, Rukwa (Tanganyika), and Bangweolo (Northern Rhodesia). Studies have been made along the coasts of West Africa. Grants have been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of £6,000 and £8,000 respectively for fishing surveys in the South and East Caribbean. The work here was carried out in co-operation with the United States Government.

A Fisheries Adviser has been appointed to the Colonial Office, and the appointment was announced in October 1943 of a Colonial Fisheries Advisory Committee to advise the Secretary of State on all problems concerning marine and freshwater fisheries in the Colonial Empire.

The great interest in nutritional questions that was shown by the representatives of all the United Nations at the Hot Springs Conference will doubtless be reflected in the colonial as in other fields. The Colonial Research Committee in its first report recommended that agricultural research should be planned in line with the views expressed at that conference. "A policy of concentration on raising the standard of living of colonial peoples and particularly their nutritional standards can only be implemented by means of co-ordinated schemes of land utilization surveys, forestry research, experiments in methods of improved cultivation in backward areas by the introduction of better strains of crops and mixed farming systems suitable to local conditions, improved storage, grading and marketing and a co-ordinated policy for the improvement of human and animal nutrition." Further recommendations on the co-ordination of the work of many departments which such a programme will involve are to be made at a later date.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 6486, H.M.S.O. 1943, p. 16.

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## V. SOCIAL WELFARE

### ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

Each of the activities discussed in the preceding chapters obviously makes an important contribution to social welfare. But the phrase "social welfare" may also be said to have acquired a technical meaning, or rather, two such meanings. In its broader sense it covers the whole field of those policies and services that would be described in America as "nation-building"; it has this sense where it applies to the committees representing all the departments concerned with welfare, which were first envisaged in 1923 by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, and eventually took shape in the Nutrition Committees whose reports were the basis of the Report on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire.<sup>1</sup> These Committees in a number of instances did not cease to function with the issue of the Report. They were re-constituted as Welfare Committees in the African colonies, and in the West Indies they furnished evidence for the Royal Commission of 1939.

Social welfare in its narrower sense describes a service which, in the words of the West India Commission, covers "those aspects of social welfare which are not the special interest or concern of other Departments." These include the stimulation of community activities of all kinds through such organizations as village councils, community associations, and co-operative societies; welfare work in connection with housing estates and land settlement; the relief of the destitute, whether young or old; the development of youth services and recreational facilities, including home industries; the treatment of adult and juvenile delinquents, the after-care of adult prisoners and the general care of prisoners while still in prison.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 95.

The events leading up to the establishment in 1943 of an Advisory Committee on Social Welfare began with the appointment in 1940 of a special committee "to consider what special arrangements are in force in the Dependencies under the control of the Colonial Office in connection with the trial and punishment of young offenders and to make recommendations." This was followed in 1937 by the Colonial Penal Administration Committee, set up to advise on all matters relating to colonial prisons, with special reference to the welfare of prisoners.

A number of recommendations of the Penal Administration Committee have led to the extension to the colonies of methods generally approved in this country. Perhaps the most important is the separation of the prison services from the police; this has now been carried out in all but one or two colonies where wartime shortage of staff makes it temporarily impracticable. No Prison Officer is now appointed who has not had the course of training prescribed by the Home Office. In addition the committee has drawn up a model Corporal Punishment Ordinance and a model Probation Ordinance, which have been adopted by a number of colonies.

The Committee extended the scope of its inquiries to cover the whole field of preventive and regenerative measures, and its report enumerated the various activities mentioned above as coming within the field of social welfare. This led to the creation of the Social Welfare Committee, to advise the Secretary of State on social welfare schemes for urban and rural communities, and on the training of social welfare officers, European and colonial. The membership of this body includes experts on all types of welfare service in this country and on the study of the social sciences. The Penal Administration Committee continues to function as a sub-committee of the newer body.

Although Social Welfare Officers have been appointed in a number of colonies, notably in the West Indies, there is not as yet a separate Social Welfare Service comparable with the Education and Health Services. The position of the Social Welfare Officers resembles rather that of the Labour Officers, who are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a separate unified service. The Social Welfare Officers, like the Labour Officers, may be either seconded from the administrative or other departments or may be persons with experience of comparable work at home.

In addition to the Social Welfare Officers, who supervise welfare activities generally, some appointments have been made for such specialized work as that of prison or probation officers; in all cases these posts have been filled by persons with the appropriate training and qualifications.

The function of this small number of experienced officials is to set going services which will be recruited from within the colonies themselves, and which will provide for the progressive members of the younger generation a new and most valuable way of taking their share of responsibility for the development of their own peoples. Two schemes of training for such work are already in existence. In Jamaica the first six months' course open to candidates for social welfare posts from all over the West Indies was held in the summer of 1943. Selected students were given an intensive training in social science under Professor T. S. Simey.

For other colonies the Secretary of State announced in the House of Commons on July 13, 1943, that a two years' course would be given at the London School of Economics. The first twenty students began this training in October 1943. Among them were eight Nigerians, seven men from the Gold Coast, two from Sierra Leone, one from Zanzibar and two from the Far East. Two others from Mauritius joined the course in its second term. They are divided into three groups, specializing in youth services, industrial welfare and rural welfare. Their training consists largely in visits to institutions engaged in the type of work which they expect to be doing, and during their vacations they spend some time at these institutions and actually help in the work. Thus the first group visit clubs, juvenile courts and approved schools and follow the work of probation officers; the second are attached to the personnel management departments of large factories; and the third see Young Farmers' Clubs at work.

Local centres for the training of Prison Officers have been set up in the West Indies, and in Uganda experiments are being made with the appointment as Prison Officers of men educated at Makerere College.

#### THE WEST INDIES

As a result of the recommendations of the West India Royal Commission, the first experiment in the regional planning of

social welfare and other development schemes by a group of experts responsible directly to the Secretary of State was made in these islands. The Commission's report recommended a special organization under a Comptroller to administer a West Indian Welfare Fund to be financed from the imperial exchequer to a total of £1,000,000 per annum for 20 years. The British Government's decision on this recommendation was announced along with the Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare.<sup>1</sup> This announced the intention of the Imperial Government to make available £5 million a year for ten years for assistance to colonial Governments in carrying out development schemes. The Secretary of State, when introducing the Bill implementing this proposal, accepted the obligation of the Imperial Government to play a more active part than in the past in assisting the development of the colonial dependencies, and though no commitments were made, it was implied that grants on a comparable scale would be made a permanent feature of the new colonial policy. No separate fund was created for the West Indies. The 1940 White Paper, however, stated that the provision made for these colonies would be "on a scale approximating to the amount involved in the Royal Commission's recommendations," and the organization proposed by the Commission was created.

At the head of this is a Comptroller for Development and Welfare, directly responsible to the Secretary of State, whose duty it is to work out long-term programmes of social reform in collaboration with the local Governments, and to recommend to the Secretary of State the allocation of grants for this purpose under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. He has the assistance of medical, agricultural and educational advisers, and also of advisers on social welfare, labour engineering and town planning. This organization has hardly received the attention which it deserves as an instance of a new technique in the decentralization of Imperial control.

One of the recommendations of the Moyne Commission was that each West Indian Government should form a Social Welfare Committee of representatives of each Department concerned, however indirectly, in the evolution of a programme of social welfare. As has been mentioned, in some cases such bodies were

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 6175. February 1940.

already in existence. They are now functioning in Jamaica, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Honduras, British Guiana and the Leeward Islands. In the last-named Colony unofficial members have been co-opted to the Committee. Trinidad set up a Social Welfare Committee at the end of 1943.

A further recommendation was the appointment of a Social Welfare Officer for each Colony. At least one such Officer has been appointed, or provision has been made for his appointment, in Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana, Dominica, St Kitts and St Vincent. In all these colonies except Trinidad the necessary funds have been provided from grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It is expected that in time local government bodies will be developed in the colonies which will assume a large measure of responsibility for the social welfare services in their own area, as such bodies do in Britain, and in British Guiana, where local government is already well established, a Local Government Commissioner has been appointed to act as Social Welfare Officer. Where local candidates with suitable qualifications could not be found, these posts have been filled by persons with experience of similar work in Britain. The training courses organized in Jamaica have already been mentioned.

The Adviser on Social Welfare in the West Indies has defined three objectives of a social welfare programme. It must co-ordinate existing public and voluntary welfare activities; it must actively encourage desirable changes in social institutions and habits; and it must provide for the more effective administration of the services which do not fall within the sphere of any of the more important Government Departments.<sup>1</sup> These include the relief of destitution, prisons and probation services, rural community activities, and youth services—the last a form of welfare activity the full importance of which has only recently come to be recognized in this country.

The relief of destitution presents a serious problem in the West Indies, particularly in the larger towns, where there is a landless class, and as a result of the general instability of family life there is an unusually large number both of children and aged persons who have no one to care for them. In Grenada, for example, it is estimated that 40 per cent of the children receive no

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Comptroller for Development and Welfare*, p. 53.

support from their fathers. In Jamaica there were 6,600 children in receipt of poor law relief in March 1940. Of these 1,150 were living in one or other of the 11 residential homes available.

Both in Jamaica and in British Guiana women officers have been appointed to Poor Law Departments to investigate the condition of children in receipt of relief. Hitherto it has been the general practice in the West Indies for deserted children to be cared for in orphanages. The more modern view, however, is that wherever possible a child should be brought up in a satisfactory home rather than in an institution. The latter has the disadvantages that the cost is disproportionately high compared with the amount spent in outdoor relief, and that nearly all the orphanages are in towns, so that children who are sent there from rural areas tend to be diverted into urban life. Schemes for the general reorganization of orphanages in Jamaica and for the construction of a new children's home of the farm school type have been approved by the Comptroller.

Old age pensions have been introduced in Trinidad and Barbados, but revenues have not been sufficient elsewhere. In the Leeward Islands, St Lucia and British Guiana, however, funds have been provided for the building in country districts of cottage almshouses where old people may be visited and cared for by friends or relatives who will provide them with food.

The possibility of introducing a system of social security is being investigated in British Honduras. An unemployment insurance scheme is under consideration in Trinidad, and an employment exchange has been opened at Port of Spain. In Bermuda workmen's compensation, health insurance and old age pensions are all under consideration.

The West Indian prison system was surveyed in 1937 by Mr Alexander Paterson, a Prison Commissioner and a member of the penal Administration Committee. His report has been the basis of various proposals for the extension to the West Indian colonies of modern methods for the treatment of delinquency, based on the conception of reform and rehabilitation. Hitherto the prison sentence, rather than a fine or a period of probation, has been the most common treatment, even of first offenders or for minor offences. The prisons are therefore overcrowded with persons serving short sentences, with the result that it is difficult

to segregate juvenile prisoners or to separate habitual criminals from first offenders and prisoners awaiting trial.

The bulk of the probation work in the West Indies has been done in the past by part-time volunteers provided by missions and by the Salvation Army, who have had no special training. Grants have been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the appointment of trained full-time probation officers in Jamaica and Trinidad. Grants totalling £55,000 have been made towards the establishment in Jamaica of a farm prison on modern lines, and another such prison has been recommended for St Kitts.

For juvenile delinquents plans have been made for the re-organization of existing schools in Barbados, Antigua, British Guiana, Jamaica and Trinidad, on lines more in accordance with modern practice in Great Britain. The general aim is to break down the barrier between "neglected" and "delinquent" children, and abolish the stigma which in the West Indies still attaches to children from schools for young offenders. A draft Children's Law, following the lines of the United Kingdom Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, has been prepared for Jamaica, and juvenile courts have been established in some of the colonies.

A conspicuously successful voluntary organization in the West Indies is Jamaica Welfare Limited, which was founded in 1937 as a result of discussions between Mr N. W. Manley, a Jamaican Rhodes Scholar, and Mr Sam Zemurray of the United Fruit Company. Jamaica Welfare was originally financed by a levy of  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  a bunch on bananas imported from Jamaica by the United Fruit Company and the Standard Fruit and Steamship Company and their subsidiaries. The Company thus formed created, and financed for its first year, a Central Council for Voluntary Social Services, consisting of representatives of all voluntary organizations in the island and of the Government departments interested in their activities. It earned the special commendation of the Social Welfare Adviser to the Comptroller for its careful investigations of the social conditions and economic needs of the people it exists to help.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1940 the main activity of Jamaica Welfare has been a "Better Village" campaign concentrating on the encouragement of local co-operative activities and of community centres. Several

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Comptroller for Development and Welfare*, p. 53.

co-operative societies have been founded, and two large and twenty-nine small village associations set on foot, which will provide educational and recreational facilities, and training in rural crafts and husbandry as well as agriculture. For young adults the Company has set up a chain of Pioneer Clubs. For juveniles one of the most successful features has been the formation of "4-H Clubs," which were inaugurated first in rural areas of the United States. The name of the organization comes from the four-fold pledge taken by the members: "I pledge my Head to clearer thinking, my Heart to greater loyalty, my Hands to larger service and my Health to better living, for my club, my community and my country." Its aim is to interest boys and girls in improved standards of farming and home-making, to develop a scientific attitude towards these practical problems and to create a sense of citizenship. A definite programme of village improvement work is drawn up each year. In addition each club has a demonstration team which must give at least one public demonstration a year in the village. These clubs have become very popular in Jamaica. By May 1943, there were 172, with a membership of 5,172. Similar clubs have been started on a smaller scale in Grenada, St Lucia, Tobago, and the Virgin Islands, and training centres have been opened for club leaders. In February 1944 grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of £42,000 for the extension of 4-H clubs in Jamaica, and £13,000 for their extension throughout the West Indies, were approved. For the general work of Jamaica Welfare grants totalling £165,000 have been made.

Trinidad Welfare Limited was inaugurated in 1943; here contributions from Trinidad Leaseholds, who represent the oil producers, and other local firms, are the counterpart of those made by the fruit companies to Jamaica Welfare. A grant of £30,000 has been made towards a similar organization in Barbados.

In British Guiana social welfare activities have been closely linked with the local government system, which has been developed further here than in the island colonies. A grant of £15,200 has been made for a welfare scheme to be organized by the Local Government Officer as senior Social Welfare Officer. An advisory committee on social welfare has been created consisting of eleven persons representing all shades of opinion in

the colony, with the Chief Justice as Chairman. A further interesting development here is the appointment of a special Welfare Officer for work among the Amerindians, for which a grant of £7,850 has been made.

In Jamaica the urban counterpart of the 4-H Clubs is the Kingston Youth Organization, formed by the co-operation of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and other bodies interested in boys' and girls' clubs. With the assistance of a grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act a Youth Centre was built in Kingston, and was opened in October 1943. In addition play centres have been opened for children under school age.

There remains to be mentioned the appointment, announced in November 1943, of an architect to work for five years on town-planning schemes for the principal cities of the West Indies.

#### THE AFRICAN DEPENDENCIES

Welfare activities in Africa have in the main been directed towards other problems than those with which this chapter deals, and some account has already been given of the way in which they are organized. The situation in Africa differs from that in the West Indies both in the nature of the problems presented and in the nature of the communities concerned. In rural Africa the questions to which the Penal Administration Committee devoted most of its attention do not arise. The central problem, the improvement of village life, is being tackled by the various educational agencies described in earlier chapters. There are no uncared for children where the strength of African conceptions of kinship is unimpaired. There is no problem of delinquency in a village where the authority of chief or elders is respected and therefore effective, no unemployment or destitution where every one draws his living from the land. These are the problems of more complex types of social organization. They arise in agglomerations of people so large that social obligations cannot be conceived in terms of personalities, and so heterogeneous that their members are not bound together by the recognition of common standards of conduct or common loyalties. It is only in such conditions that deliberate action to stimulate a sense of community is called for, and that individuals with no recognized place in the community—such as the destitute or delinquent—

are so numerous as to present a social problem. Such a situation is general in the West Indies as the legacy of the slave trade, but in Africa it is confined to a few large centres of population.

In the West Indies these problems are of old standing, and those strata of society that are in touch with ideas in Britain and the United States have produced a considerable number of voluntary organizations to deal with them. The extension of social welfare activities has consisted largely in the development of their work with the assistance of financial grants and sometimes of expert guidance.

In Africa the feeling that the more fortunate have a responsibility towards the less fortunate is still confined for the average individual to the members of his own group. Most Africans will do far more for a distant relative in difficulties than many Englishmen would do for a close one, but the conception of distress as something that calls for relief wherever it may be found is still unfamiliar to them.

Nevertheless, in West Africa there are one or two interesting examples of spontaneous efforts to provide remedies for some modern social problems. In Lagos a group of Yoruba formed the Green Triangle Club and raised subscriptions for a hostel for homeless boys, which has now become the headquarters of the Welfare Officer recently appointed; and various "tribal unions," clubs for members of the principal tribes represented in the population of the city, are prepared to care for destitute children belonging to the tribe concerned.

In the Gold Coast the Red Cross Links, which originated at Achimota, are gradually being extended as a form of rural community service. In 1941 there were 67 such groups. Their members are drawn from the higher classes of schools. Each group is attached to a village near at hand, and each member undertakes to put something which he or she has learnt at school to practical use in the service of the villagers. The activities undertaken by Achimota students include building, simple engineering, dispensing, reading classes for adults, and so forth.

Welfare Committees or Boards, constituted on similar lines to the earlier Nutrition Committees,<sup>1</sup> have been set up in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern

<sup>1</sup> See p. 98.

Rhodesia. They consist of the heads of all departments concerned with welfare activities, together with senior administrative officers and representatives of unofficial opinion. In the Gold Coast three of the five unofficial members are Africans, one of them a woman. In Nigeria there are two African unofficial members. In Northern Rhodesia the member for Native Interests in the Legislative Assembly is a member of the Native Welfare Development Board. In Zanzibar the unofficial members include an Indian and two Arabs and in Nyasaland an African chief. In Uganda the central Development and Welfare Committee has no unofficial membership, but there are also provincial and district sub-committees on which unofficial opinion is represented. Schemes are submitted by these sub-committees to the Central Committee, which meets once a year and draws up co-ordinated plans based upon them. Similar local sub-committees have been set up in the Gold Coast and Northern Rhodesia. The appointment of a Commissioner for Native Development for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was announced in March 1944.

In war conditions an important function of these boards and committees has been to allot priorities for development schemes. Those of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia administer special funds earmarked for native welfare. The subjects which they have considered cover a wide range, including nutrition, native administration, labour policy, the training of African personnel, land utilization and the prevention of soil erosion, education, the improvement of native cattle and native dairying. The Northern Rhodesian Board has made grants for a variety of purposes, including experiments in the development of native industries and the study of native languages.

In connection with social welfare work in Africa the point has been made that a knowledge of the native institutions of the peoples concerned may be of considerable practical value. Both in East and West Africa there are peoples where boys and girls are traditionally organized in age-grades. Throughout life special bonds persist between members of the same age-grade, and, in the case of boys, each grade has its special duty to the tribe as cattle-herds, warriors, and so on. Although the warrior's occupation is no longer open to him, these tribes still have their warrior groups who are sometimes a source of trouble. It might well be possible to harness this sense of community, and of duty to the

tribe, to some more modern movement, as has been done with some success in Swaziland.

It is also important, in connection with all services concerned with the guidance of youth, to understand the ideas of marriage and family life, and the obligations which they involve, that are prevalent among the peoples concerned. Family structure and marriage customs vary very widely in different parts of Africa, and the behaviour expected from husband to wife or children to parents differs correspondingly. Borstal and probation systems have to be organized with these facts in mind, and sociological knowledge of this kind will be an essential part of the equipment of welfare officers in this field.

Social Welfare Officers have already been appointed for Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and an appointment has been sanctioned for Sierra Leone. Plans have been made for the appointment of one woman Welfare Officer in the latter colony and two in the Gambia. The Nairobi Municipal Council, which has taken the lead in Kenya in the study of urban problems, in 1943 proposed the appointment of a woman Social Welfare Worker for work in the African locations. In addition to these appointments the well-known architect Mr Maxwell Fry has been made Town Planning Adviser for West Africa.

In the coastal towns of West Africa the need for youth services has become particularly acute with the great influx of population caused by war developments there. In Nigeria a Juvenile Advisory Committee has been set up to deal particularly with the employment of boys. The Social Welfare Officer for Nigeria and his assistant are to concentrate on youth work in Lagos. A club has been opened for apprentices and boys of school age, and a similar organization for girls is in contemplation. A Young Offenders Ordinance passed in August 1943 provided for the establishment of juvenile courts and of a remand home; the latter has already been opened.

In the Gold Coast the introduction of a probation system in Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi was recommended by a committee set up to consider the subject. Sierra Leone has already set up a juvenile court and opened a home for juvenile offenders.

In those East African colonies where juvenile delinquency has assumed sufficient proportions to require special measures, a probation system is to be set up. In Northern Rhodesia, how-

ever, it was reported in 1943 that the amount of juvenile crime was negligible. In Kenya the appointment has been recommended of a European Senior Probation Officer with two African assistants. The Indian and Goan communities are expected to provide their own voluntary probation officers. In Nyasaland probation work for the present is being done by missionaries.

Tanganyika took a pioneer step in penal reform by the establishment of the farm prison at Kingolwira, which was taken as the model for that set up in the West Indies. Uganda also has a farm prison, with an industrial section. Kenya has opened an approved school, and plans are being made for one in Uganda. Extra-mural work on the lines recommended by the Penal Administration Committee has been successfully introduced in Nigeria, Tanganyika and Nyasaland. A survey of the prison system throughout the African colonies has been made by Mr Alexander Paterson.

#### CEYLON

In Ceylon a Rural Development branch of the Department of Commerce and Industries was created as the result of an economic survey which the Department conducted in 1936. This is now known as the Rural Welfare Service. Selected villages were chosen as centres for intensive development campaigns on lines rather similar to those contemplated in the memorandum on mass education recently issued by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. The campaigns are in charge of Rural Development Officers who are given a special training comprising courses on such subjects as agriculture, public health and the development of cottage industries. Preference is given in selection to men with Boy Scout training. They live in the villages, which are described as Rural Service Centres, and are expected to show by precept and practice simple remedies for the evils from which the villages suffer.

These centres are developed as model villages, with special attention to the improvement of health by anti-malarial and other hygienic measures and to physical training; economic improvement by the introduction of better methods of cultivation, new crops and cottage industries, and by the establishment of co-operative societies, and adult education, including the creation of libraries. In 1941 there were 12 such centres.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In parts of India great importance has been attached to the co-operative movement as a means of social betterment in rural areas, and its extension to the colonial empire has been warmly urged by those with experience of its success there. The extent of its development in the colonies varies greatly in different areas.

There are five main types: credit and thrift societies; marketing societies; co-operative stores; craft and production societies; and a type originally invented for Indian conditions, the "better living" society.

Credit and thrift societies were most extensively and successfully developed in Malaya, where also there were a number of "better living societies"; the chief aim of these was to cut down expenses on ceremonies, and so prevent indebtedness. In Ceylon there are 6 "better living" and 119 thrift societies, the latter consisting solely of salary-earners.

In Jamaica the co-operatives organized by Jamaica Welfare have mainly been of the "better living" type, but there are also a number of thrift societies, chiefly in connection with sickness and burial benefits.

Co-operative stores have not been greatly developed outside Ceylon, where there are 26 on the tea estates with a membership of 12,500. These could only be established in labour centres, for the village populations generally are still too little accustomed to a cash economy. In Trinidad no difficulty was experienced by Trinidad Leasehold Limited in starting a co-operative store for their workers. In Kenya co-operative stores are among the activities of the Jeanes School and their introduction has been considered in Nyasaland.

In Malaya there were five rural and one urban stores.

In West Africa the development both of credit and thrift societies and production societies has been notable, particularly in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The movement was introduced into the Gold Coast in 1928, particularly for the marketing of cocoa. The movement spread more rapidly in five years in the Gold Coast than it had in India in ten. Despite a drop in membership as a result of the low prices paid for cocoa since the outbreak of war, there were in March 1941 fifteen central and three hundred and twenty-six primary co-operative societies.

Nigeria passed a Co-operative Societies Ordinance in 1935,

and now has a Registrar of Co-operative Societies with four assistants. In 1941 there were 142 cocoa growers' societies, and 157 Cocoa Products Co-operative Societies, the membership of the latter amounting to over 10,000. In that year also the first Co-operative Consumers' Society was started in Lagos, and one Farmers' Fruit Processing Society was registered. Membership of the thrift and loan societies (which are confined to salary earners) was 899.

The most conspicuous example of co-operative marketing in East Africa is the native coffee-growers' union, with 30 branches, on Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika. There are a few such associations in the West Indies, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands have copra marketing societies in nearly every island.

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